

FRANCIS LAMBERT OF AVIGNON:

(1487-1530)

A Study in Reformation Origins

by

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PREFACE

The purpose of this dissertation is to present for the first time to English readers an account of the life of Francis Lambert of Avignon as well as to show the place which he filled in the drama of the Reformation. Various short sketches of his career are found in French, German and Latin writings and many references to him have been made by English historians. A German, Johann Wilhelm Baum, produced in 1840 a biography entitled "Franz Lambert von Avignon", which is rated as the best work on this subject. But as far as the writer is aware no competent study has appeared in English.

To obtain first hand information of the activities in which the subject of this thesis engaged, the author visited a number of the places in which Lambert lived and laboured. Included among these are Basel, Eisenach, Frankenberg, Homburg, Marburg, Metz, Strasbourg, Wittenberg and Zurich.

An endeavour is made in the following pages to depict the man in his various aspects - as friar, as wanderer for the sake of the Gospel and as reformer and theological professor; and at the same time to outline his scheme of church government and the religious doctrines that animated him. It has been our aim, furthermore, to sketch briefly the background of his life-story, to set, as it were, the stage for his achievements.

CONTENTS

Preface	Page II
I. Introduction	1
II. Lambert in Avignon	
1. The Early Years of Francis Lambert	5
2. His Monastic Career	9
III. Lambert, Wandering for the Sake of the Gospel	
1. In Switzerland	
a. His Flight to Lausanne	19
b. Preaching in Bern	24
c. The Conversion of Lambert in Zurich	28
d. His Last Days in Switzerland	53
2. In Germany	
a. Lambert in Eisenach	39
b. Lambert and Luther in Wittenberg	48
c. His Experiences in Metz	65
d. The Strasbourg Sojourn	71
IV. Lambert, the Reformer and Theological Professor	
1. The Synod at Homberg	
a. The Background	83
b. The Synodical Assembly	95
2. The Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae, 1526	107
3. Lambert at the University of Marburg	139
4. His Theological Convictions	156
V. Estimate of Lambert's Character and Work	172
Appendix - List of Lambert's Writings	178
Bibliography	
1. Primary Printed Sources	184
2. General Sources	192

1. INTRODUCTION

Of the various periods into which the subject of church history may be divided, there is probably none that has furnished such a fruitful field of study as the Reformation in the sixteenth century. It has doubtless been more thoroughly explored than any other age. Historical research into this phase of ecclesiastical activities has been so profitable and so extensive because of the far-reaching significance of this movement. Its beginnings must be dated many years before Martin Luther nailed the Ninety-Five Theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg in 1517; clamour for church reform had been heard generations before. The Reformation was likewise exceedingly wide in its sweep; scarcely a land in Western Christendom was left untouched by its transforming influence. The implications of this historical phenomenon were extremely complex, because the Reformation penetrated the political, social and industrial developments of its own and succeeding centuries. Armies pitched battle for the sake of the rediscovered Gospel; princes set up territorial churches based upon their own particular religious beliefs; the common man demanded a larger place in society; and in some quarters it is maintained that the freedom which the individual obtained through the Reformation lies at the base of the modern capitalistic system.

One of the great achievements of this movement was the contention that an individual could approach God directly through Jesus Christ. This claim proved also to be one of its shortcomings; for, if man was permitted to stand before God

without any other intermediary than Jesus Christ, it was but natural that a variety of responses would be made to the Christian revelation. Into the developments which ensued were moulded nationalistic temperaments, linguistic tendencies and political reactions. The degree of loyalty or disloyalty to the medieval ecclesiastical system, and the extent to which the Renaissance had pervaded the various countries were likewise decisive factors in this process. Consequently, there evolved the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the German, the Swiss and other national churches. Already in the early stages of the reforming process it was evident that doctrinal preferences within the national boundaries demanded recognition. Rugged and robust religious leaders emphasising their own particular tenets of faith and practice became the centres about which like-minded adherents gathered. In this manner Luther and Calvin, Zwingli and Knox won their followings; and as the various groups developed--often, indeed, in animosity to one another--they took on the name of their champion or the type of church polity represented.

It is rather difficult to locate in the annals of this religious upheaval a person who did not belong to a territorial church or who did not give his allegiance to a denominational group or party. One can be found, however, in Francis Lambert. He was supra-confessional and international in his evangelical outlook. Born into a family in which the conventional piety was cherished, he entered the Minorite cloister at Avignon and devoted twenty years of his life to a monastic career. During the last stages of this long period he read the writings of

Lutner, who made a deep impression upon his dissatisfied soul. After his escape from the monastery he wandered to Zurich where he participated in a religious debate on the doctrine of the intercession of saints. Convinced of the error of this tenet, Lambert rejected it in favour of the teaching that Jesus Christ is the only mediator between God and man. Having been won to the evangelical cause, the Frenchman journeyed to the headquarters of the German Reformation where he was privileged to associate with Luther and Melancthon. Through the Wittenberg group he was brought into contact with the more conservative aspect of the new impulse. In the liberal-minded city of Strasbourg where he later sojourned he abandoned the Lutheran conception of the Lord's Supper for the symbolical view of the eucharistic elements as it was taught by Zwingli. Through his refusal to subscribe to the theological opinions of a man with whom he no longer agreed - even though that man was Martin Luther - Lambert testified that he would not be bound to any particular evangelical party. "In ihm war so wohl der Samen den Luther, als derjenige, welchen Zwingli gesät hatte, auf einem reichen, fruchtbaren Boden in einander verwachsen, zur Frucht geworden," wrote Wilhelm Ebert in his "Geschichte der evangelische Kirche in Kurnessen". (p.28).

In like manner it can be said that he was beyond the nationalistic approach to the religious question. He was born in France, he accepted the Reformation in Switzerland, and he matured his evangelical thinking in Germany. When he sought in vain to become a reformer in his native country, he turned to Hesse where he attempted to improve the church of that land

by reconstructing it upon Scriptural principles. Frustrated in this endeavour because his scheme of church government did not commend itself to Luther, Lambert was appointed by Landgrave Philip to become a member of the newly founded theological faculty at the first regularly established evangelical school for higher learning, the University of Marburg, Germany.

With such a training and such a religious history we are not surprised to find that Lambert is difficult to place in any of the accepted denominational categories, for he has affinities with a number of these.

II. LAMBERT IN AVIGNON.

1. The Early Years of Francis Lambert.

For seventeen centuries the city of Avignon, now in the Republic of France, has been an important centre of Roman Catholicism. As early as the third century Avignon became a diocesan seat and in 1475 its jurisdiction was enlarged to an archbishopric. Before this date, however, its ecclesiastical glory had already begun to dawn, for in 1309 Pope Clement V established his official residence in this city, and thus commenced that period which in church history is usually named The Babylonian Captivity (1). Completely dominated by King Philip IV of France, the first Avignon pope was induced, in part at least, to select Avignon as his papal seat in order to be domiciled rather closely to his regal patron. Its advantageous position, however, could not have been entirely disregarded by Clement V in deciding to remove the pontifical chair to this prominent city in the domain of the Count of Provence. Situated on an elevation on the east bank of the Rhone River (2), and at a point where the crossing is difficult, Avignon did offer to a terrified pope a certain sense of security. In addition, it is located at a strategic point for traffic; the Durance River empties its waters into the Rhone a few miles south of Avignon.

(1) e Gallia, maxime ab incluta Avenione, urbe Romano Pontifici subjecta. Dedication, Lambert's "In Divi Lucae Evangelium Commentarij." Schnellhornius, J.G., "Amenitates Literariae", Tome IV, p. 333

(2) Lambert writes in his "In Primum Duodecim Prophetarum nempe Oseam Commentarij", "e nostra Avenione quae ultra Allobroges in ripa fluminis Rhodani sita est". Ibid, p. 332

Of the Avignon popes, John XXII (1316-1334), that financial wizard in the annals of the papacy, exerted a profound influence upon his generation and especially upon the citizens of his papal abode. During his pontificate the construction of the Palace of the Popes was started. Begun in 1316 and completed by 1370, it remains to this day a symbol of the luxury and splendour of this period. It dwarfs the Romanesque Cathedral, Notre Dame des Domes, beside which the pontiff's palace was erected. Situated on the crown of a hill within the city, surrounded by boulevards and enclosed with battlements and towers, the ecclesiastical establishment at Avignon manifested that power and mystery which characterised the medieval church. The presence of prelates and cardinals in the city made a deep impression upon Avignon; and the imagination of a boy, who was privileged to enter the mysterious gates of the palace and to see its magnificent court room, was doubtless captivated. That boy is the subject of this dissertation.

Francis Lambert was born in this well-known Roman Catholic city. "J'ai habitais Avignon, ville célèbre des Gaules", he wrote from Wittenberg, Germany in 1523 (3). The date of his birth was in all probability 1487 (4). The Lamberts were originally neither

(3) Herminjard, A.L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française", I, p.119

(4) According to Berthold Haller's letter of introduction (date) that Lambert carried with him from Bern to Huldreich Zwingli at Zurich, Lambert left the monastery in the early summer of 1522 (Herminjard, I, p. 102). In his letter to Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, (January 20, 1523) Lambert informs that he was affiliated with the Minorites for twenty years—*me apud Minoritas viginti annis fuisse*. (Ibid, p.112). From

from Avignon, nor even from the department of France in which the birthplace is located. They were natives of Franche-Comté which formerly belonged to the Burgundians, and in which members of the Lambert family continued to flourish. (5) It is not known under what circumstances the father of Francis Lambert withdrew from Orgelet, where he lived, to take up his residence in the rather distant Avignon. That he was a man of more than ordinary ability is attested by his appointment as private secretary to the papal legation and palace at Avignon (6). Because of the father's official connections, the son was permitted to visit the imposing papal institution. He was no doubt occasionally allowed to see the dignitaries whose grace and holy demeanour must have left an indelible impression upon his mind, while the atmosphere of holiness which apparently prevailed there permeated his receptive soul. These influences were terminated, while Lambert was still a boy, through the untimely death of his father. Deprived of paternal guidance the training of young Lambert devolved upon the mother about whom history has disclosed only fragmentary information.

his tract, "Rationes propter quas Minoritarum conversationem habitumque rejecit," we learn that he entered the order at the tender age of fifteen years, - "anno aetatis meae XV Avenione fui ad eorum habitum convictumque receptus." (Schellhornius, op. cit. p. 314). Adding fifteen years and twenty years, the period which he spent in the monastery, it is found that he forsook the monastic life at the age of thirty-five years; and deducting thirty-five from 1522, the year in which he left Avignon, we arrive at the year of 1487 as the time of his birth.

- (5) Je suis en effect Bourguignon d'origine, quoique, né à Avignon, car ma famille est d'Orgelet, ou vivent encore maintenant plusieurs Lambert. Francois Lambert au Sénat de la ville Besançon, Herminjard, op. cit. p. 373
- (6) patre legationis Pontificiae & palatii, ut vocant, apostolici

During this period another phase of the activities of the church was brought to his attention. It was often the practice in those days for monks to assume responsibility for the spiritual ^Rnuture and training of orphans. Fortunately for both mother and son, a monastery of the Franciscan Observants had been opened in 1469 in the vicinity of Avignon (7). Here the boy Lambert saw the devotion of the medieval church as he had earlier noticed the pomp of its official servants in the Palace of the Popes. His boyish emotions were stirred and his childish piety was intensified by the religious externalities of the Observants; and in his soul there was aroused an eager desire to become a friar.

secretario, Schellhornius, Ibid, p. 310; Geheimsekretär des papstlichen Legaten, Heppe, Heinrich, "Kirchengeschichte beider Hessen", p. 144.

- (7) Haag suggests that the fervent piety of the mother induced her to entrust the education of her son to the Observants, "Sa mère plongée dans les pratiques les plus minutieuses de la dévotion, se déchargea du soin de son éducation sur les moines Franciscains d'Avignon". Haag, M.M., et E.M., "La France Protestante", Tome IV, p. 238.

2. His Monastic Career.

The medieval order with which Francis Lambert became affiliated was the Franciscan; it is known also as the Friars Minor or Minorites. Founded by the venerable Saint Francis of Assisi, the Franciscans dedicate their lives to the imitation of the public life of Jesus Christ, especially with respect to poverty. Their ideal is to own absolutely nothing so far as it is compatible with their simple living. They are not urged to austerities beyond those inseparable from the lives they live. By the order of Pope Leo X in 1517 the Franciscans were officially divided into two groups: the Conventuals who were permitted to possess property; and the Observants who were bound to as close an observance of the example of Saint Francis as was practically possible. (1) It is this branch which has become more influential and more numerous than the Conventuals.

Francis Lambert entered the stricter branch of the Franciscans, the Observants. He took this important step while he was yet a youth of fifteen years. (2) During the period of Lambert's novitiate, his associates and superiors endeavoured to impress upon his mind the sanctity of the monastic life. (3) They also exercised precaution lest they might disclose to the novice any irregularities which might suggest withdrawal, a privilege that was accorded during the initial stages of the monastic career.

(1) Bull, "Ite et vos in vineam," Vidi Zöckler, Otto, Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, VI, 3rd Edition, 1899, S.215.

(2) ce fut sous l'action de tels mobiles, qu'a l'âge de quinze ans, je demandai à être reçu dans leur ordre. Herminjard, A.L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs", I, p.119. See also Schellhornius, J.G., "Amoenitates Literariae", Tome IV, p.311.

(3) Herminjard, loc cit.

After the expiration of a year and several months young Lambert arrived at the first milestone on his way to holy orders. He had reached the point at which he was to be advanced to the status of a full-fledged friar. (4) In the presence of the assembled monastic community he prostrated himself before the altar where he took the vow of chastity, poverty and obedience. Upon this occasion many of the older friars who were present, no doubt called to mind their own never-to-be-forgotten promise. Perhaps there were sighs of regret on the part of those who might have recalled the attractions of the world from which the tyro was now separating himself. To others the solemnity of the consecration provided a refreshing recollection of that ceremony which rescued them from earthly allurements.

The experiences which awaited the newly created Franciscan were in many respects at variance with the idealism which had impelled him towards the attainment of his monastic goal. He was soon confronted with numerous and often grievous disappointments. That glorious appearance of holiness which had mystified his innocent fancy was soon transmuted into grim reality. (5) His own soul was consumed in drudgery and afflictions, and he was irritated and angered by the conduct of his colleagues. He realised that here in the cloister, even more than in the open courses of life, the spirit of envy and vengeance flourished. Many times these feelings attained an unbelievable fury

(4) Strictly speaking the term "friar" is applied to members of the four mendicant orders: Franciscan, Augustinian, Dominican and Carmelite. For the distinction between friar and monk see Cleary, Gregory, the Catholic Encyclopedia, VI, p.280.

(5) Herminjard, A.L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs, I, p.119.

because they were aggravated by the strict external discipline which was being exacted. What Lambert saw in the monastery shattered his idealism, dispelled his illusion and shocked his sensitive religious nature. In rueful recollection of his youthful observations he cried out, "I do not doubt at all that God willed that I should be misled by their attractive externals of piety, in order that, after having ascertained the truth, I might renounce their community and make known to the world what obscenities were hidden under those 'whitened sepulchres'." (6)

The passions which raged in the Avignon cloister were soon focused upon the young Observant. Having been brought to the attention of his superiors by his keen intellect and his oratorical ability Lambert was chosen to preach publicly. This was the occasion for a violent outburst of hatred and jealousy on the part of his fellow-friars.(7) Recalling his disheartening experiences Lambert wrote, "I can not adequately recount all the annoyances they made me endure, because I did not preach according to their liking".(8) The common people, however, heard him gladly; they felt the sincerity of his zeal and received his efforts with an eager desire and respect.

(6) Je ne doute point que Dieu n'ait voulu que je fusse séduit par leurs beaux dehors de piété, afin de pouvoir, après avoir appris ce qui en était, quitter leur société et faire connaître au monde quelles ordures étaient cachées sous ces 'sépulcres blanchis'. Ibid.

(7) Hass und Neid die schwarzen Gefährten der Tugend begleiteten auch ihm. Strieder, F.W., "Hessische Gelehrten Geschichte", VII, p.378.

(8) Je ne puis assez dire tout ce qu' ils me firent endurer de vexations, parce que je ne prêchais pas selon leur gré. Herminjard, op. cit. p.120.

After approximately fifteen years of monastic service Lambert was promoted to the position of apostolic-preacher of his order. (9) In his new appointment he was charged with the duty of journeying through the surrounding country to instruct the people in the fundamentals of the Christian faith. Contrary to the general practice of the time when most evangelists sought flattering gifts and well-laden tables, Lambert devoted his energies to the Word of God and to the salvation of souls. He pursued his calling as his official title suggested - in the manner of an apostle. (10) During this period he felt the need of studying the Holy Scriptures to improve the effectiveness of his preaching. The Psalms, Jeremiah and Job claimed his attention in this direction. Turning to the New Testament he studied first St. Paul's Letter to the Romans and next the Revelation of St. John. He made this the basis of a series of sermons to attract the people by means of the mysterious element in the Bible. (11)

The ardent enthusiasm which he displayed and even more the results obtained, made his position as apostolic-preacher difficult. Among his comrades fresh outbreaks of vengeance occurred whenever Lambert in unguarded moments spoke about his evangelistic activities. Seeing the reactions which his successes occasioned, he determined to restrict his program.

(9) Ibid.

(10) *Apostolorum exemplo*, Lambert's letter to the Elector of Saxony, Herminjard, op. cit., p. 112.

(11) "Real Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche", VIII, p. 371.

But it was in vain. Often when he returned from a preaching tour which had taken him away from the monastery for more than a month, he was received with jealous coldness. From his friends he had occasionally received a mule to ease the physical burden which was taxing his strength as well as to enlarge the scope of his preaching ministry. As often as this was the case the animal was stolen by his spiritual brothers. (12)

The power of Lambert's preaching was manifested by an experience which he had in one of the French cities. He attacked the luxuries and immoralities which had gained the upper hand and which were demoralising the citizens. So forceful was the pressure which he exerted that at his suggestion masks, pictures, dice and cards were thrown into the fire which had been prepared for this purpose. As these tokens of indecency were being consumed, several fellow-friars exhibited the picture of an unchaste woman. The object was to suggest that Lambert was being burned up by the passions of sex as the flames consumed the various articles which had been alluring the spectators. This action on the part of his companions provoked him to a fiery denunciation of their conduct.(13)

Although Lambert was highly esteemed among the common people, his position in the opinion of those in higher places was not so favourable. Encouraged by the successes which he won in his evangelistic campaigns, he dared to lift his

(12) Hessencamp, F.W., "Hessische Kirchengeschichte seit dem Zeitalter der Reformation", I, p.67.

(13) Francisci Lamberti Avenionensis Theologi rationes propter quas Minoritarum conversationem habitumque rejecit. Schellhornius, op.cit., p.317. See also Heppe, Heinrich, "Kirchengeschichte beider Hessen", I,p.144.

voice against the preachers of indulgences and the injustices to which their excessive attempts led. For this bold step he was reprimanded by the authorities of the French city within whose precincts he assailed the traffic in indulgences.

The animosity which was being heaped upon Lambert deprived him of preaching before the papal legate. (14) His compeers reported to the Cardinal that Lambert was ill and that it was impossible for him to appear. Robbed of the triumph he hoped to win, Lambert denounced the Guardian of the Cloister. He referred to items about which this official was particularly sensitive. Thereupon the Guardian, who was an ambitious and a brutal person, threatened the daring friar with imprisonment and torture. The feeling on the part of the superior did not completely subside even though he did not carry out his evil intentions; later when he became a provincial, he poured out his hatred upon the recalcitrant subordinate.

While opposition and dislike for Lambert were increasing among his associates, he, himself, was beginning to doubt the wisdom of having assumed the monastic habit. He contemplated returning to the world but the scandal, which such a step would create in the sections in which he had preached, constrained him. Because he was not able to find satisfaction in his role as a Franciscan, he longed to affiliate with the Carthusians. The Carthusians were founded by Saint Bruno

(14) This incident probably took place in Avignon.

in 1084 when he and six others secured the consent of the Bishop of Grenoble to retire to Chartreuse which is located in the mountains near Grenoble, France. In this solitary place they endeavoured to lead an ascetic life, devoting themselves to silence, prayer and austerity. According to the rule which was codified in 1130 by Guigo, the fifth Prior at Grande Chartreuse, the monks were permitted to see each other three times a day-in the church for the Midnight Office, for Mass and Vespers. The rest of the day they spent alone in their hermitages. On Sundays they partook of a common meal and they were allowed to walk together outside of the enclosures. In this fellowship the disquieted Lambert hoped to find contentment for his gloomy soul. While the solitude of the Carthusian life would not permit him to preach publicly, he would at least be allowed to spread the truth of the Gospel through his writings. His plans, however, were frustrated by the authorities of the Minorites, many of whom still regarded Lambert in a favourable light. Doubtless they also feared the reaction which the withdrawal would produce among the faithful friars. In addition, the sincerity of the Franciscans might be questioned by the Carthusians. Consequently, Lambert, in whom there was still a tinge of obedience, decided to abide by the judgment of his superiors and returned to his cell and office. (15)

His decision to remain a Friar Minor was the signal for a fresh outburst of persecution. This was occasioned by the writings of Martin Luther whose works, which had been stealthily

(15) Herminjard, op.cit. p.121. Schellhornius, op.cit.p.311; pp. 319-320.

carried abroad through the arteries of commerce, soon found their way to Lyons and other French centres. Naturally these books also appeared in Avignon where Lambert embraced the opportunity to read them. Through this literature Lambert's respect for the German Augustinian was strengthened. Tenets of Christianity which the Frenchman had covertly cherished were now brought into broad daylight. He was happy that at last some one had come forward who had the courage to wrestle openly with ecclesiastical perversions. Concerning these contacts Lambert wrote later, "I shall speak boldly, believing in the Lord that it may be true, that more of really sound theology is contained in the aforesaid books (Luther's) than in all the writings of all the monks who were from the beginning." (16)

It was soon discovered that Lambert had so-called heretical writings of Luther in his possession. They were taken away from him and the Provincial of the Chapter, who served as the head of his monastery, condemned them. Shouting "They are heretical, they are heretical", he consigned the unorthodox products to the fire without even examining them. (17) But it was too late, for Lambert had already absorbed their contents and had become favourably disposed towards the new religious impulse. (18) His heart yearned to see Luther who was destined to interpret the new spiritual age to his generation. During these days

(16) Ego confidenter loquar, credens in domino quod verum sit, quod plus syncerioris theologiae in libris praedictis continetur, quam in omnibus scriptis omnium monachorum, qui a principio fuerunt. Schellhornius, op.cit., p.320.

(17) Clamabant tantum, haeretici sunt, haeritici sunt, Ibid.

(18) La semence était tombée dans une terre préparée à la recevoir; elle porta ses fruits. Haag's "La France Protestante," Tome VI, p.239.

Lambert was compelled to exercise much self-control to conceal the change which was beginning to take place in him. He locked in his breast the eager anticipation for the time when the "stone of human institutions would be rolled away from the Gospel."

The monastic experiences of Luther and Lambert were somewhat similar in character. Both found glaring inconsistencies between a devout monastic life and the freedom of the Gospel. Both made earnest attempts to find peace for their souls in monastic austerities and failed. In sorrowful meditation Lambert wrote later, "I exhorted very many (to enter) the monastic life and to persevere in the same. (Therein) I committed a sin, and I am tormented in mind beyond description, because I fear greatly that I have been the cause of innumerable sins". (19)

Realising that his activities as a Franciscan were of little account in the promotion of his own spiritual welfare or for the progress of the Kingdom of God, Lambert determined to abandon the career into which his youthful enthusiasm had allured him. In the process of arriving at his decision to cast aside the cowl, he pondered over the harm he might have done to the furtherance of the Gospel by his zealous pursuit of the monastic career. Consequently he wrote, "I recant every statement, which, in my previous sermons, is not in perfect accord with the simplicity of the Gospel. I adjure all those, who in the past heard me preach or who have read

(19) Hortatus sum plurimos ad Monasticen et ad perseverantiam in eadam. Peccavi et supra quam dici posset mente discrucior, expavescens, me fuisse causam innumerabilium peccatorum. Lambert's "Commentarij in Minoritarum Regulam," Chapter V.

my writings, to reject every thing which does not conform to the truth which is now disclosed." (20)

The attempt to obtain an impartial judgment of the monastic experiences of Francis Lambert should take into consideration several important factors. In the first place, the order with which he had become affiliated was a part of the medieval ecclesiastical despotism which required implicit obedience to regulations. It is noted also that he became a member of the Observants who represented the stricter branch of the Franciscans. Here a discipline of a very stern type was demanded. Over against this vigorous legalism stood the passionate nature and impulsive personality of Francis Lambert. His indomitable will could not be crushed to the extent that he would submit to the meticulous observance of rule. Moreover, his rash temper and his harsh statements were responsible elements in his inability to get on well with his monastic colleagues. These qualities can not be disregarded entirely in an endeavour to understand the difficulties which Lambert encountered in the monastery at Avignon.

(20) Je désavoue tout ce qui, dans mes anciennes prédications, n'est pas en parfait accord avec la simplicité de l'Évangile. J'adjure tous ceux qui m'ont jadis entendu prêcher ou qui ont lu mes écrits, de rejeter tout ce qui n'est pas conforme à la vérité maintenant révélée. Herminjard, op. cit. p. 122; Schellhornius, op. cit. pp. 323-324.

III. LAMBERT WANDERING FOR THE SAKE OF THE GOSPEL

1. In Switzerland

a. His Flight to Lausanne

The decision to abandon the cloistered precincts of the Franciscan monastery at Avignon for the sake of the Gospel, could not be carried out without precaution. It was not feasible for Lambert to announce his intention to leave, because his previous desire to affiliate with the Carthusians had been frustrated by his superiors. Inasmuch as the discipline which prevailed in the Avignon cloister was of a severe character, the possibility of an escape from his cramping cell was not great. The opportunity came when he was commissioned to deliver letters to the General or the Vice-General of his order.⁽¹⁾ With these communications in his possession he left Avignon never to return. The termination of his monastic life was characterised by Martin Luther as "withdrawn from the midst of Babylon and come out from the land of the Chaldeans."⁽²⁾

Lambert departed from Avignon probably in the month of May, 1522.⁽³⁾ Like a bird that had suddenly been given its liberty, he went forth a free man after having been compelled

- (1) Lambert's "Theologi rationes propter quas Minoritarum conversationem habitumque rejecit". Schellhornius, J.G., "Amoenitates Literariae", Tome IV, p. 322.
- (2) Recedite de medio Babylonis et de terra Chaldeorum egredimini. Martin Luther's introduction to Lambert's "Evangelici in Minoritarum Regulam Commentarij", p.4
- (3) This date is deduced from an anonymous letter written June 5, 1522 to H. C. Agrippa of Geneva. It contained a recommendation of a "preacher of the true Gospel". This preacher was planning to visit Geneva. See Herminjard, A.L. Correspondance des Réformateurs, I, p. 100.

to submit to the rigid legalistic requirements of the Observants for twenty years. (4) While his release did afford a peculiar fascination the thirty-five year old Franciscan was facing his recently acquired freedom with uncertain expectations. He made his way northward through the valley of the Rhone River, halting at Lyons to which place news of the German Reformation had already come. Leaving Lyons he travelled in a north-east direction along the Rhone River to the Duchy of Savoy. He continued to Geneva which became later the centre of John Calvin's forceful ministry.

Here Lambert preached between Pentecost and Trinity Sunday; that is, between the eighth and the fifteenth of June, 1522. (5) In this renowned Swiss city he made the acquaintance of H. C. Agrippa who was kind enough to write to Wolfgang Fabricius Capito at Basel, commending Lambert warmly. (6) Departing from Geneva Lambert followed the northern shore of Lake Geneva, which route led him to Lausanne. In this picturesque Swiss city Sebastian of Montfaucon served the citizens as their religious leader. To him Lambert probably delivered

(4) *apud Minoritanos fui annos XX, semper persecutiones et impedimenta sustinens ab eisdem.* Lambert's Letter to George Spalatin, 20th January, 1523, Herminjard, op. cit. p. 115; also Lambert's Letter to the Elector of Saxony, Ibid, p.112

(5) Ibid, p.101

(6) Herminjard, Ibid, p.101. See also p.65 of this thesis.

the letters from Avignon for despatch to the General of the Franciscan Order, Paulus Mediolanensis whose headquarters were located in Milan. The Bishop, who had been a student at the University of Basel (1505), succeeded his uncle Ammon in the episcopal chair at Lausanne in 1517. To this charming but proud man, Lambert came at a time when the religious atmosphere of his diocese had not yet been disturbed by the thunder claps of Wittenberg. Rumblings thereof had not yet been heard; neither did the Bishop see sheets of portentous lightning flash across the north-eastern skies. All was still calm in Lausanne. In accordance with the custom of the times the faithful came from the valleys and the sea-side to assemble in St. Peter's Cathedral to worship and to pray. Only occasionally were the names of Martin Luther and Huldreich Zwingli mentioned, and this was done principally by travellers and state officials. The clergy regarded what little they had learned about these reformers with that stolid indifference which marks the man who hears only the faint rolling sounds of a far-distant thunderstorm.

During his brief stay in this important centre Lambert preached occasionally. (7) Among his interested listeners was the Bishop who received his efforts with approbation. That the people, and particularly the clergymen, would notice a slight departure from the generally received doctrine, was to be

(7) He reached Lausanne either on Tuesday, the seventeenth of June or the following day, and remained there about a week. Herminjard, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.

expected, especially upon those occasions when Sebastian was not present. These unaccustomed intimations were reported to the Bishop who, however, refused to harbour suspicions of heresy. On the contrary, he innocently told Lambert about the remarks which had been brought to his attention. In a letter to the Bishop in 1525, Lambert recalled this experience:

"Whenever you were present at our preaching services you embraced the Word of the Lord most sincerely; but when you were forced to be absent on account of the pressure of business (which happened several times), some were attempting (as you casually told me) to estrange you from the Word of the Lord, claiming that I was preaching heresy." (8)

What lay behind Sebastian's dealings with Lambert, is an interesting question. Was the Bishop convinced of the friar's sincerity because Lambert carried official communications from the Avignon monastery? Did the earnestness and vigour with which the apostolic-preacher proclaimed the Gospel captivate the imagination of the prelate so completely that he would entertain no scruples against Lambert? Is it possible that the young churchman did not perceive the far-reaching consequences to which the execution of Lambert's ideas might lead

(8) Siquidem ubi nostris praedicationibus aderas, verbum Domini syncerissime amplectebaris; ubi autem ob negotiorum tumultus absesse compellebaris (quod semel atque secundo fuit) sicut mihi nonnunquam dixisti, a verbo Domini te facere alienum nonnulli moliebantur adserentes quod haeretica praedicarem. Herminijard, I, p. 329.

the church? Was the wavering Franciscan, clad in his monkish garb, so clever in his conversation as to conceal his own theological opinions and in this manner evoke the affections of the Bishop? At any rate, Sebastian was so kindly disposed toward Lambert that he gave him letters of introduction to ecclesiastical officials in several Swiss cities. "You wrote to many on my behalf", Lambert reminded the Bishop from Strasbourg in 1525, "and I shall freely confess that on your account it went well with me with those of Bern, Zurich, Bas^l and Freiburg." (9) Expressing the warm desire that the apostolic-preacher should write him, Sebastian bade farewell to his guest. Lambert left Lausanne, revelling in the cordiality which he had received there. He continued his wandering for the sake of the Gospel to Freiburg where he preached upon several occasions and met a small group of interested people who were favourably inclined to the new doctrines. After a short stay in Freiburg Lambert proceeded to Bern.

(9)--multis pro me scripseris, et libenter fatear, tui causa apud Bernenses, Tigurinos, Basilienses et Friburgenses bene mihi fuisse. Ibid.

b. Preaching in Bern

In this Swiss city Lambert was ushered into an atmosphere that was different from that which prevailed in Lausanne. While the new religious impulse had made its influence barely felt in Lausanne, Lambert found that the clamant demands for church reform were being expressed fearlessly in Bern. Among those who supported the movement for improvement in religious matters was Sebastian Meyer, the Alsatian priest, who had been preaching in Bern against the abuses of the Roman Church since 1518. Beside Meyer stood Berthold Haller who was a native of Aldingen, Swabia. He had studied at Rothweil and at Pforzheim where he met Philip Melanchthon. After receiving the degree of Bachelor of Theology at the University of Cologne, Haller taught at Rothweil and then at Bern. In 1521 at the age of twenty-nine years, he was elected people's priest in the Bernese cathedral. His sympathetic character and his great eloquence made him a power in the city. At times, however, he became so discouraged that he was often on the point of leaving Bern and going to Basel. It was Huldreich Zwingli who encouraged him to remain and persevere. A third, though less brilliant, figure was Nicolaus Manuel, a painter, who exerted considerable influence upon the citizens. The pressure which these leaders and their adherents brought to bear for relief from the obnoxious Roman practices, induced the City Council to permit freedom in preaching, if it was in accordance with the Word of God. The magistrates refused to allow innovations in worship and ceremonies;

and they forbade the introduction of heretical books into the city. (1)

Such was the religious situation when Lambert came to Bern during the early days of July, 1522. Here he was to form his first actual contacts with the Reformation. He embraced the opportunity of making the acquaintance of young reformers like Haller and Meyer to whom he could speak without reservation about the problems which were harassing the church. Haller led him to discern the handwriting on the wall by informing him about the prophetic heroism of Martin Luther and the evangelical power of Huldreich Zwingli. (2) Lambert was enabled to observe the progress of the reforming activities as they were being carried out under the courageous leadership of the Bernese reformers; and he also saw the approbation which their successes evoked on the part of the liberal-minded citizens. Encouraged by the response which they were receiving and by the warmth and confidence that these progressives showed, Lambert was led to share their impassioned zeal for the Reformation. (3)

Lambert soon lifted his fervour into action. To overcome the difficulties which his inability to use the German language imposed upon him, he employed Latin in his sermons.

(1) Lindsay, T.M., "History of the Reformation," II, p.40.

(2) Ebert, Wilhelm, "Die Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Kurhessen von der Reformation bis auf die neueste Zeit das Beugniss der Unioncharakters dieser Kirche." p. 28.

(3) Bis jetzt war Lambert mit sich noch nicht völlig im Klaren, Hier wurde es ihm erst recht wohl. Ibid.

Despite the suspicions which his monkish cowl might have aroused, he preached in the presence of the ministers and the educated laity of Bern. Here stood a Franciscan, yea even a strict Observant, who attacked the various practices of the church with unaccustomed boldness; and he added to his power a grace which made his efforts pleasing to his audience. In a letter written to Huldreich Zwingli, Berthold Haller described the preaching of Lambert, "While yet at Bern he preached, though still using the Latin speech, to our priestlings who were not yet in every way sound in the Christian faith, on the Church, the Priesthood, the Sacrifice and the Mass; likewise, on the traditionalists among the Roman pontifical bishops, on the foolish and thoroughly hypocritical observances of religious (monastic) orders and their members, and on many other things all of which were of real benefit. Not as if these things were strange as coming from us, but coming from such a man, a member of the Franciscan-Observants and a Frenchman (all of which makes an ocean of superstitions to flow together), they seemed to be unheard of."(4)

- (4) Jam Bernae, latino tamen sermone, concionatus est nostris sacrificulis, nondum ex omni parte in re christiana sanis, de Ecclesia, Sacerdotio, Sacrificio et Missa; rursus de Romanorum Pontificum Episcoporum traditiunculis, de ordinum et religiosorum fatuis et plene hypocriticis superstitionibus ceterisque multis, quibus omnibus nonnihil profuit. Non quod haec a nobis aliena sint, verum a tali nomine Franciscano Observante, Gallo (quae omnia mare superstitionum confluere faciunt), inaudita videbantur. Berthold Haller to Huldreich Zwingli, Herminjard, A. L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs," I, p. 103.

The results of Lambert's preaching were profound. They expressed themselves in several directions. Upon his audience the unexpected character of his sermons made a deep impression. His aversion to his own religious status as a Franciscan who had experienced the Roman corruptions added certitude to his words. In the preacher himself the fellowship with like-minded persons, matured his longing to visit Germany, the cradle of the Reformation. Carrying a letter of introduction written by Berthold Haller, Lambert departed from Bern. Among other items Haller wrote, "Accordingly he (Lambert) will wander through the whole of Germany; indeed, when he had prepared himself for the journey for Zurich, he requested me to recommend him to you (Huldreich Zwingli). I do not doubt that in view of our friendship you will treat him most courteously. You will soon see what talent, doctrine and learning he possesses." (5)

On Saturday, the twelfth of July, 1522, just four days after this letter had been written, Lambert arrived in Zurich. (6)

- (5) Is igitur totam peragrabit Germaniam, et itineri ad Tigurum accinctus petit, ut tibi eum commendarem. Non dubito quin pro tua in me humanitate eum humanissime sis tractaturus. Ipse mox videbis, cujus ingenii, doctrinae et eruditionis sit. Ibid, pp. 103-104.
- (6) Füsslin, J. C., "Beyträge zur Erläuterung der Kirchen-Reformations Geschichten des Schweitzerlandes;" from Herminjard, Ibid, p.104.

c. The Conversion of Lambert in Zurich

Zurich developed around the Great Minster and the Church of Our Lady which was called also the Little Minster. Its citizens had been engaged for a long time in quarrels with the clergymen, and the former had generally been successful. Because of these victories laws were passed subordinating the clergy to secular rule. Taxes were levied on church property and the convents were placed under civic control. This situation was condoned by the popes who desired to maintain the friendship of the people of Zurich because the Swiss furnished soldiers for the papal army.

The seed-bed out of which the Reformation was to grow had already been prepared when Lambert arrived in Zurich. Rivalry between the two great churches and their clergymen had precipitated a certain disrespect for the church on the part of thinking citizens. The corrupt practices of the Roman Curia had been brought recently to Zurich by Bernardin Samson, the indulgence-seller, who hoped to push his trade in this important city. The New Learning of which Heinrich Loriti was a notable exponent had won a circle of young men of liberal views. But the figure who asserted himself most boldly for the new religion was Huldreich Zwingli who had come to Zurich in December, 1519 as the people's priest at the Great Minster.

Zwingli had already met Samson at Einsiedeln and had preached there against the traffic in indulgences. Upon his arrival in Zurich he persuaded the City Council to forbid Samson's stay in the city. On the positive side for church

reform Zwingli offered a series of expositions on the Gospel of St. Matthew, which, he announced, would not be in accordance with the scholastic interpretation; they would be based upon the Holy Scriptures alone. While the populace crowded to hear his sermons, the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians tried to arouse opposition; in this attempt they were unsuccessful. Zwingli also attacked the existing system of tithes. In June, 1519, about six months after his appointment to Zurich, he had succeeded in revising the Breviary. (1) The ecclesiastical situation became so perturbed that the city magistrates resolved to hold a public religious disputation.

Before the first of the four debates took place, however, Zwingli figured in an interesting experience with Francis Lambert who had journeyed from Bern.

His arrival in Zurich had been described in these words, "He was a man of great stature, mounted upon an ass." (2) Bearing a letter of introduction from the Bernese Reformer, Berthold Haller, to Zwingli, Lambert made his way to the man whose name was upon many lips in Zurich, and with him he found

(1) Lindsay, T.M., "History of the Reformation," II, p.31.

(2) C'était un homme de grande taille, monté sur une ânesse. Füsslin, "Beyträge zur Erläuterung der Kirchen-Reformations-Geschichten des Schweitzerlandes, 1741-1753," from Herminjard, A.L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs," I, p.104

a cordial welcome. While Zwingli had proceeded so far from the established church as to declare himself openly for the Reformation cause, his guest, though he was seriously questioning the Roman position, had not yet taken the decisive step. As a matter of fact, Lambert was still clad in the garb of his order. (3) He was seeking the light of the Gospel at the hands of a man who had already determined to follow God rather than man. Accordingly, Zwingli and Lambert discussed the cardinal doctrines of the church. (4) During the course of the conversation Zwingli attempted to bring the former Avignon Observant to a clear conception of the truth by eliminating whatever doubts persisted in his mind.

Evidently the monastic teachings had been rooted too deeply in Lambert, for it seems that the interview with Zwingli did not convince the Frenchman of the fallacy of all the Roman tenets. To defend his position Lambert asked permission to preach four sermons in the Church of Our Lady (The Little Minster). These he wished to deliver in Latin because of his inability to use the German language in sermons. (5) His request was granted and he appeared before

(3) Hic Lambertus, Tigurum venisset, veste Franciscana nondum deposita, Lavatnero, Ludovico, "Historia de origine, progressu controversiae sacramentariae de Coena Domini ab anno MDXXIIII - ad annum MDLXIII, deducta," p. 17.

(4) cum Zwinglio privatim de primariis doctrinae capitibus contulit, Ibid. See also Schnellhornius, J. G., "Amoenitates Literariae, "Tome IV, p. 325.

(5) Il ne savait pas mot d'allemand, mais il parlait très-bien le latin. Herminjard, loc. cit.

the canons and chaplains of Zurich. In the fourth sermon Lambert preached on the invocation of the Virgin Mary and of the saints. He became so zealous and insistent in the defence of this doctrine that Zwingli was unable to restrain himself. He cried out in the midst of Lambert's discourse, "Brother, you are mistaken." (6)

This interruption, together with the excitement which was produced by the clergy of the Great Minster, led to a disputation between Lambert and Zwingli. Füsslin suggests that Lambert demanded a debate on the subject of intercession with "maître Ulrich Zwingli," (7) while Rudolph Staehelin states that the idea of a discussion "between the learned and eloquent stranger and Zwingli" was proposed by the inimical priests.(8) The conference took place on the drinking piazza (Trinklaube) of the canons on the seventeenth of July, 1522, and it continued for four hours. During this important verbal encounter Zwingli kept before him the Old and New Testaments in the Greek and Latin texts; he expounded the Scriptures with clearness and erudition with special reference to the doctrine of the intercession of saints. At the conclusion of the lengthy discussion Lambert was completely persuaded of his errors.(9)

(6) Bruder, du irrst, Staehelin, Rudolph, "Huldreich Zwingli, Sein Leben und Wirken," p. 228; Frere, tu te trompes, Herminjard, Ibid.

(7) Herminjard, Ibid.

(8) "Huldreich Zwingli, Sein Leben und Wirken," loc.cit.

(9) publice de intercessione divorum disputavit, atque veritati cum gratiarum actione cessit. Lavatnero, loc. cit.

He raised his hands to Heaven to thank God for the light of the truth. The Frenchman admitted that the teaching and practice of the invocation of saints were contrary to the Holy Scriptures. He also announced his intention to abandon the use of rosaries, and that in times of spiritual need he would call upon God alone and abide in Jesus Christ, the Lord. (10) His conversion was completed. (11) He cast aside his despised monastic robe. (12) Having been greatly influenced by his transforming experience Lambert departed from Zurich on the following day, the eighteenth of July, 1522. (13) He journeyed to Basel where he hoped to visit Erasmus, the celebrated Dutch scholar.

(10) Staehelin, Rudolph, op. cit. p. 228.

(11) Maurer, Wilhelm, "Franz Lambert von Avignon und das Verfassungs-ideal der Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae von 1526" ascribes the conversion of Lambert to Basel, "Hier in Basel muss der entscheidende Umschwung erfolgt sein," p. 212.

(12) Je dépouillai cette robe de pharisien, Lambert au pieux lecteur, Herminjard, op. cit. p. 121.

(13) Herminjard, op. cit. p. 104.

d. His Last Days in Switzerland

By the time that Lambert came to Basel the Reformation cause had already taken root. The seat of a famous university and a centre of German Humanism, Basel attracted many scholars who were placed under the influence of Thomas Wyttenbach. This crusader for church reform had taught Huldreich Zwingli to see the evils and abuses of the indulgence system as well as to perceive that the supreme authority for Christian activities is the Holy Bible. As early as 1512 Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, a disciple of Erasmus and a learned student of the Scriptures, had averred that the ceremonies and many of the usages of the church could not be authenticated from the Bible. A boon for the new religion was the appointment in 1522 of Johannes Oecolampadius as Lecturer on the Holy Scriptures at the University of Basel. Having been one of the supporters of Martin Luther during the fateful year of 1521, Oecolampadius became so zealous for church improvement that the Bishop of Basel forbade his lectures and sermons. But Oecolampadius was destined to become the Reformer of Basel; in February, 1525 the Council of the town installed him as preacher in Saint Martin's Church and authorised him to make such changes as the Word of God demanded. (1)

In the month of July, 1522, the same year in which Oecolampadius came to this important city, Lambert arrived there. He was carrying letters of introduction from Sebastian

(1) Lindsay, T.M., "History of the Reformation," II, pp.38-40.

of Montfaucon, Bishop of Lausanne, to ecclesiastical officials at Basel. (2) With the aid of these missives he was enabled to meet with a number of important religious progressives, who doubtless confirmed him in the liberal religious ideas which had been implanted into his mind. Among these figures was Conrad Kürschner, who was commonly known by his Latin name, Pellicanus. Like Lambert, Pellicanus had entered the monastic life at the age of fifteen years as a member of the Franciscan Order. He had studied at Heidelberg and Tübingen where he came under the influence of the noted Hebrew scholar, Johann Reuchlin. Because of his broad educational training Pellicanus found himself at variance with more than one Roman doctrine, especially transubstantiation. (3) During the stay of Lambert in Basel he became acquainted also with Telamonius Limpurger, who was a suffragan of the Bishop of Basel. An indication of the manner in which he was received by Limpurger and Pellicanus is revealed in a letter from Martin Luther to George Spalatin in which he stated that they gave him (Lambert) "a beautiful testimony." (4)

Another important ecclesiastical figure whom Lambert was permitted to meet in Basel was Basile Amerbach, who referred to him in a letter written on the twenty-second of June, 1523. Addressing his brother, Boniface, who was a student at the University of Avignon, Amerbach wrote, among

(2) Herminjard, A. L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs," I, p. 329

(3) Ibid, p. 117.

(4) dant illi pulchrum testimonium. Ibid.

other items, "Francis Lambert, a Minorite of Avignon, threw aside the cowl at Wittenberg." (5) While he was in Basel, Lambert learned to know also Wolfgang Fabricius Capito.

This erudite student of the Scriptures had received previous information concerning Lambert from H. C. Agrippa of Geneva who spoke of him as "an able man and a diligent minister of the Word of God." (6) Whether or not Lambert succeeded in making the acquaintance of Desiderius Erasmus at Basel, as he had hoped to do, cannot be definitely determined. That the former friar met with the celebrated humanist, is altogether possible, since the Dutch scholar sojourned in this illustrious Swiss city from November, 1521 to September, 1522. (7) It will be recalled that Lambert arrived in Basel in July, 1522, and that he remained there for a comparatively brief period before he resumed his wanderings for the sake of the Gospel.

During the journey through Switzerland which occupied approximately two months, remarkable changes had been effected in Lambert. In the spring of 1522, he left the monastery at Avignon presumably on a mission to deliver official communications to the General or Vice-General of the Franciscan Order. He was still regarded as a servant of his branch of the church. Inwardly, however, there was a change. He had become hostile to the external monastic show of piety, and he had been deeply

(5) *Cucullum abiecit Franciscus Lambertus, minoritanus Avenionensis apud Wittenbergam*, Ibid. p. 116.

(6) *probus siquidem vir est et diligens minister verbi Dei*, Herminjard, op. cit. p. 101.

(7) "Erasmus," Smith, *Preserved*, p. 257.

influenced by the writings of Martin Luther. When he departed from the cloister he determined never to return to the "white-washed sepulchre" again. At Geneva he evidently disclosed no symptoms of the transformation that was taking place. While he was able to assure the young Lausanne bishop of his orthodoxy, the canons sensed a peculiar strain of irregularity in his sermons. At Bern he was afforded his first opportunity to associate with churchmen who had already forsaken the old religion and who were openly espousing the new order. When he came to Zurich his enthusiasm for the Reformation cause seemed to have cooled; apparently doubt had begun to set in. He championed the doctrine of intercession upon which his soul had been nurtured for more than three decades. But this resistance to the liberal spirit was soon overcome at a conference during which Lambert was completely persuaded of his errors by Huldreich Zwingli. The seed which had been sown was bearing fruit. Convinced of the trustworthiness of the Gospel teachings he became a new man. In his commentary on the Prophecy of Amos, Lambert described the gradual process which led to his conversion: "Therefore I am thoroughly convinced that there was never any one of the elect who acquiesced whole-heartedly in the mendacities of Antichrist. And I admit that formerly I was constantly doubting the same, however much I discussed, taught and wrote concerning these very themes. But through ignorance I went astray until the Lord took mercy upon me; but gradually I perceived the light

of His truth and the darkness of (my) errors vanished." (8)

As if he were not satisfied with having effected changes of heart and raiment, Lambert decided to alter his name also. He became Johannes Serranus. The pseudonym was no doubt assumed as a precautionary measure; it was to serve as a covert against any violence which might be attempted by his former monastic brethren. (9) Pierre Bayle ascribes several additional reasons for the fictitious name. (10) He suggests that the nobility of the Lambert family was partly responsible for the hesitancy; that Lambert's twenty years of service in the monastery and the fact that he had been one of their charges can not be overlooked; and that he had been challenged in Basel upon several occasions. This had produced an embarrassment which he wished to avoid. In a letter to the Elector of Saxony, Lambert referred to his assumed name; "But not entirely without cause had I invented this name for myself that I should be called Johannes Serranus, who in reality am

- (8) Ego pro re persuasissimo habeo, nullum unquam electorum fuisse, qui pleno corde adqueverit mendaciis Antichristi. Et fateor olim me in eisdem semper fuisse dubium, quantumlibet de ipsis tractarim, docuerim ac scripserim, sed per ignorantiam aberravi, donec mei fuit misertus Dominus, et sensim agnovi lucem veritatis suae errorumque tenebrae abierunt, p. 74.
- (9) Um den Nachstellungen seiner früheren Ordensbrüder nicht ausgesetzt zu sein. Ebert, Wilhelm, "Die Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Kurhessen von der Reformation bis an die neueste Zeit das Beugnis der Unioncharakter dieser Kirche," p. 28. See also "Letter of Francis Lambert to the Elector of Saxony," Herminjard, op. cit. p. 114.
- (10) Dictionnaire Historique Et Critique, Tome III, p. 40.

Francis Lambert, a native of Avignon." (11)

Why Lambert selected the Latin "Serranus" carries the historian into the field of conjecture. Serranus is derived from serra which means saw. The name seems to suggest that he was sawed off or cut off from the established system of Christianity. (12) The question as to when he began to disguise himself, offers several possible answers. Tilemann states that Lambert was already "Serranus" when he arrived in Basel. (13) If Lambert was questioned while he was in this city, as Bayle holds, it is perhaps more nearly correct to infer that he assumed the name by which he hoped to conceal his identity, during his sojourn in Basel. At any rate, when he appeared in Eisenach, Germany, he was "Johannes Serranus." (14)

- (11) Sed non omnino absque ratione nomen hoc mihi confinxeram, ut Johanes Serranus vocarer, qui in veritate Franciscus Lambertus sum, natione Avenionensis. Herminjard, op.cit. p. 114. See also Lambert's letter to George Spalatin, Ibid, p. 115.
- (12) The pseudonym which Lambert assumed suggests that Martin Bucer, the Reformer of Strasbourg, followed the same method to conceal his authorship of his Commentary on the Psalms, Eells, Hastings, "Martin Bucer," p. 67.
- (13) Remota veste Franciscana et cuculla, sub nomine Johannis Serrani, Basileam venit. Vitae professorum theologiae, p.3.
- (14) The Diary of George Spalatin, Schellhornius, J.G., "Amoenitates Literariae," Tome IV, p. 327.

2. In Germany

a. Lambert in Eisenach

What route Lambert took or which method of travel he employed when he left Switzerland for Germany, history has not disclosed. "From here", writes F. W. Stieve, "his trail vanishes." (1) When he arrived in Eisenach in November, 1522 he found a community in which the Reformation was already demanding attention. While this city contained the customary number of holy places, in which the usual outward show of piety was paraded, there was a decided undertone which expressed itself in a longing for religious reform. Among the citizens there was also a group that, despite their dissatisfaction with the existing conditions, retained a certain respect for the church as a sacred institution. The greater portion, however, favoured improvement in spiritual life and practice, and whenever an opportunity presented itself, these people invariably declared themselves openly for betterment in religious affairs.

What religious influence the confinement of Martin Luther in the nearby Wartburg Castle exerted upon the townspeople of Eisenach, provides an interesting field of study. If one presumes that the identity of "Junker George" was known to a considerable number of the inhabitants of Eisenach, then the sympathy which the retention of Luther was able to create

(1) Von da an verschwindet seine Spur. "Allegemeine deutsche Biographie," XVII, p. 549. Herminjard, A.L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs," I, p. 106 suggests that Lambert visited either Cologne or Mayence enroute.

for his cause was not insignificant. (2) As the Wartburg, standing majestically at the edge of the Thuringian Forest and overtowering the city, weaves a subtle romance around Eisenach, so the religion of Martin Luther, who once sang on its streets, must have percolated gradually into the Christian consciousness of this medieval place.

Among the Eisenach clergymen who espoused the cause of Luther was Jacob Straus. He later became such an ardent partisan for the Lutheran view of the Holy Sacrament that he attacked his patroness for being a Zwinglian.(3) It was this fervent Lutheran supporter who welcomed Francis Lambert, when he came to Eisenach. Straus not only received him graciously, but encouraged him in his enthusiasm for the Reformation. He urged Lambert to direct his steps toward the benevolent Elector of Saxony who was protecting Martin Luther against Roman incriminations. He also advised the Frenchman to communicate directly with Luther who had quit the Wartburg on the first of March, 1522, about nine months before Lambert came to Eisenach. (4) To accomplish this Lambert was told by Straus to correspond with George Spalatin, the Court-Precacher of the

- (2) Elector Frederick's letter to Herr Oswald of Eisenach in February, 1522 concerning the religious situation in Wittenberg suggests that some of the citizens knew the identity of "Prince George." Lindsay, T.M., "History of the Reformation," I, p. 317.
- (3) He was so biased that he persuaded the Prince of Baden to proscribe Zwinglian literature in his domain. Ellis, Hastings, "Martin Bucer," p.85.
- (4) Grisar, Hartmann, S. J., "Luther," II, p. 97.

Elector. Spalatin, in addition to his duties as chaplain, was also secretary to Frederick the Wise, and the influential intermediary between Luther and his powerful patron. (5)

While Lambert was waiting for the reply to his request to proceed to Wittenberg, where he hoped to meet the man whose name was resounding throughout European Christendom, he did not remain idle. For the benefit of those citizens who understood Latin he gave expositions on the Gospel of St. John. (6) Despite the murmurings of the resident priests and monks, he persisted in these presentations. He had no doubt become invulnerable to verbal and physical assaults as a result of the abuses to which he had been subjected in the monastery at Avignon. His long experience as apostolic-preacher stood him in good stead as he began to declare the Gospel in the light of the new truth; and he brought his message to the attention of his hearers with such telling effect that he offered his course of lectures in localities adjoining Eisenach.

In his fervour for the new religion Lambert carried his work further. He prepared one hundred and thirty-nine theological opinions which he proposed to defend publicly on St. Thomas' Day, (the twenty-first of December) 1522 against any one who might be disposed to present himself as an opponent. Despite the sharpness which marked the

(5) Mackinnon, James, "Luther and the Reformation," II, p. 348.

(6) Schellhornius, J. G., "Amoenitates Literariae," Tome IV, p. 328.

theses, it seems that no adversary was inclined to oppose Lambert in a theological encounter.

In framing his propositions Lambert maintained that the Roman Bishop and his successors had invalidated their position of primacy through the abuse of their privileges. Attacking the papacy directly he urged that neither the pretence of the Roman Bishop with his triple crown nor his arrogance should move the Christian to acknowledge the pope as the earthly head of Christendom. It is certain, Lambert added, that the pontiff has no prerogative by divine sanction. Neither his glory nor his terrestrial power is necessary for the present dispensation because these qualities are extremely foreign to men who are called to be apostles. The right to become an apostle is not lodged in the allurements of secular pomp or earthly ambitions; it arises out of a challenge to imitate the Twelve and to administer the Word of God. These ideals, Lambert claimed, had been corrupted by the Roman Curia which, therefore, ought to be brought to nought. When their follies have been brushed aside, Lambert contended, pardon for sins will be secured as a result of confession to God, according to the Grace and Judgments which are declared in the Gospels. Lambert dealt also with clerical celibacy, auricular confessions, baptism, repentance and justification in the theses which he formulated for the intended debate. (7)

(7) Propositions 91-96 are found in Schellhornius, op.cit. pp. 328-330. The 139 theses have been preserved in manuscript in the Library of Raymond of Kraft in Ulm, Germany.

The result of the appearance of these polemical and practical theological items was twofold. In the foes of the new religious impulse the theses of Lambert produced fresh dismay and indignation. The defenders of the accepted order realised that another voice had been raised against the accustomed modes of worship. They were particularly perturbed because one of the points attacked was the doctrine of Roman primacy which formed the very citadel of the traditional system. The friends of the anti-Roman movement received the bold invectives of Lambert with approbation. Through these presentations he was enabled to commend himself more heartily to the supporters of the Reformation.

It seems strange that permission to journey to Wittenberg was not immediately granted to a man who appeared to be so whole-heartedly devoted to the evangelical cause as Lambert was. On the fifteenth of December, 1522 Luther wrote to George Spalatin concerning the proposed visit of Lambert to Wittenberg: "Johannes Serranus seems to be bona fide, but there is no need of my advice (in the matter of permission to visit Wittenberg). Perchance he is not acquainted with the temperament and customs of the Prince; for this reason it appears to me that he (Lambert) should be allowed (to remain) in Eisenach or wherever he can in order that he may teach those whom he will be able to enroll. May God protect him as well as us; only let him neither flee nor be driven away." (8)

(8) Johannes Serranus bonus esse videtur, sed non est opus meo consilio. Ipse forte Principis ingenium et mores nescit; ideo mihi videtur esse sinendus in Isenaco aut ubi potest, ut doceat quos habere poterit. --- Deus defendat, sicut et nos, modo non fugetur aut repellatur ----, Herminjard, op. cit. pp. 106-107.

To understand the attitude which the Wittenbergers manifested in postponing-or perhaps even intercepting-the desire of Lambert to visit the fountain-head of the German Reformation, it is necessary to take account of several factors. In the first place, Luther was not yet fully convinced of the sincerity of the former friar; he feared that Lambert might be an emissary of his enemies. (9) In addition to this uncertainty, the developments which had taken place in Wittenberg while Luther was confined in the Wartburg were conspicuous features of the uneasiness that obtained in the Saxon capital. The movement which had been led by Carlstadt, a colleague of Luther, forced a wedge into the reforming group at Wittenberg. Disappointed in not securing the appointment to the Provostship of All Saints Church, Wittenberg, he began to isolate himself from Luther. He turned to Gabriel Zwilling, a young Augustinian, whose fiery denunciations of the idolatry of the Mass stirred up the commonalty of the town. On Christmas Eve, 1521 a turbulent crowd invaded All Saints Church as well as the Parish Church. In the latter they broke the lamps, threatened the priests and in mockery of the worship of praise to God, they sang folk songs, some of which savoured of irreverence. To add to the disquietude which prevailed three men, known in history as the Zwickau Prophets, came to Wittenberg during the closing days of 1521. Their arrival and addresses increased the excitement both in the town and in the University.

(9) Luther fürchtete, dass Lambert ein Sendling seiner Feinde sei, Stieve, loc. cit.,-"Allegemeine deutsche Biographie", XVII, p. 549.

Taking advantage of these circumstances Carlstadt pressed upon the townspeople and the magistrates his own plan of reformation which abounded in radical changes of worship and church practice. The fanaticism which followed the publication of the Wittenberg Ordinance perturbed the Elector. This situation, together with a letter from Duke George of Ducal Saxony, led Frederick to write his Instructions to Herr John Oswald, a burgher of Eisenach. The unsettled state of affairs furnished one of the reasons why Luther suddenly left his asylum and returned to the scene of his labours at Wittenberg. (10) Incidents of this character produced extreme cautiousness on the part of the Wittenberg authorities in welcoming strangers to the headquarters of the German Reformation.

Evidently Spalatin, who regarded Lambert as a "man of uncommon erudition" made a second request to Luther, asking him to permit the former friar to visit Wittenberg. (11) A copy of the one hundred and thirty-nine theological propositions, with which Lambert had challenged the defenders of the established order of religion at Eisenach, was also transmitted to Wittenberg. (12) These were to serve as evidences of his complete severance from the Roman system and his defiant contempt for it. Another factor which tended to bring about a more conciliatory attitude toward Lambert was the presence of Frenchmen in Wittenberg. His fellow-countrymen had come on

(10) Lindsay, T.M. op. cit. pp. 311-318.

(11) *vir eximia eruditione*, Schellhornius, op. cit. p. 327.

(12) Stieve, loc. cit.; Herminjard, op. cit. p. 107.

political missions as well as to obtain first-hand information concerning the religious movement that was developing in this German city. (13)

One would suppose that the intervention of Spalatin and the evangelical writings of Lambert would have supplied sufficient proof of his integrity; in addition, the presence of French dignitaries at the Saxon court, it seems, would have served as avowed guarantees for the privilege of allowing him to continue his journey to Wittenberg. But such was not the case. Shortly before Christmas, 1522 Luther wrote to Spalatin concerning the communications of Lambert: "I have neither seen nor heard of the letters (theses) of Serranus (Lambert) addressed to me." This might be regarded in a favourable light, if Luther had not added the enigmatical suggestion, "therefore request them from a different direction (person) than from me." (14) Did Luther infer that he was not particularly concerned because he had no knowledge of the theological propositions which Lambert had despatched to Wittenberg? Does the sentence connote a sense of regret that the missives were not in his possession?

Several days later, the twenty-sixth of December, 1522 Luther addressed Spalatin again in the interests of the visit of Lambert to Wittenberg. The letter, while it grants permission to Lambert to call upon Luther, is not overflowing with eagerness for the forthcoming event. Its double tone

(13) Schellhornius, op. cit. p. 332

(14) Nihil neque vidi neque audivi literarum Serrani ad me datarum: aliunde ergo quam a me illas pete. De Wette, Wilhelm, "Luthers Briefe," II, p. 270.

is obvious: for the sake of the evangelical cause Luther is willing to have Lambert visit Wittenberg; but, on the other hand, the Reformer fears that the ambition of the former Observant may be a machination of Satan. (15) The letter follows: "Certainly I shall receive the man if he comes to me in order that he may speak to me personally; but just as love enjoins that in every instance all the best shall be taken for granted, so faith commands that all the worst of everything shall be feared. There are some who would commend the man to me; there are certain (features) which, if they do not arouse, certainly do not allay (my) suspicion. For this reason it would be best for the Prince to lose sight of providing any travel-money, and either allow or order him to remain in that place (Eisenach), so that we may observe how he is going to turn out." (16)

Despite the ambiguous character of this letter Lambert was granted permission to proceed to the headquarters of the German Reformation. Accordingly, he departed from Eisenach where he had remained for approximately two months. In the midst of the rigours of the winter, he journeyed to Wittenberg where he arrived in January, 1523.

(15) Herminjard, op. cit. p. 107.

(16) Ego sane hominem, si venerit ad me, admittam, ut mihi loquatur coram: sed sicut omnia de omnia de omnibus optima praesumere jubet charitas (I Cor. XIII), ita omnia de omnibus pessima timere jubet fides (Jonan. III. et Matth. X: cavete ab hominibus). Sunt, qui mihi hominem commendent; sunt, quae suspicionem, si non movent, certe non quietent. Optimum igitur fuerit, ut Princeps aliquid viatici in eum perdat, et illic sistere vel sinat vel jubeat, ut videamus quis sit futurus. Herminjard, Ibid.

b. Lambert and Luther in Wittenberg

When Francis Lambert came to Wittenberg, he found it more like a large village than the capital of a German principality. Ten years prior to his coming it contained but three thousand inhabitants and three hundred and fifty-six ⁴ratable houses. The small size of Wittenberg can be accounted for, in part, by the fact that it was not located on any one of the great German trade routes, although the city was rather centrally situated in the realm as it existed in that day. The environs of the Saxon capital lacked the picturesqueness of the Rhine Valley as well as the legends which grow out of such beauty.

The liberal religious spirit of Wittenberg was centred in its university which had been opened on the eighteenth of October, 1502. It was in the interests of the young university that Luther had been sent from Erfurt to the Wittenberg Convent. Here he taught the Ethics and Physics of Aristotle. Here John Staupitz urged him to the systematic study of Augustine. Here he presented theological lectures; and when the news reached Wittenberg that John Tetzel, the notorious indulgence-seller, was planning a campaign into Saxony, Luther nailed his Ninety-five Theses to the Church of All Saints (the Castle Church) to offset the traffic in indulgences. (1) This bold stroke of defiance and the dramatic stand which he took at the Diet of Worms in 1521, together with the fearless nature of his writings and his indomitable courage, made Luther the central figure of the German Reformation.

(1) Lindsay, T.M., "History of the Reformation", I, pp.206ff

Ever since Lambert's spirit had been awakened to a new appreciation of the Gospel, he desired to see the Man of Wittenberg. At last his earnest longings were to be realised; and there can be no doubt that the Frenchman's heart beat rapidly as he hastened to the Augustinian Cloister which stands at the eastern end of Wittenberg. It was here that he came face to face with the man who had defied Pope and Emperor. Luther and Lambert were of about the same age. Both had made honest efforts to bring satisfaction to their souls by entering the monastic life, the former affiliating with the Augustinian Order at Erfurt and the latter with the Franciscans near his birthplace at Avignon. Both became devoted servants of their respective orders, the one as a teacher and the other as an apostolic-preacher. But, because the medieval monastic system, whether it operated in Germany or in France, tended to repress their progressive spirits, both forsook the careers to which they had dedicated their lives; they stripped off their cowls and determined to rely upon the Gospel alone as the adequate source for the salvation of their souls.

When the two met they no doubt related to each other the various experiences to which they had been subjected in their respective monasteries. Luther told about his inward struggles, while Lambert recalled the deceptions which saddened his heart, the abuses that were heaped upon him and the light that flashed into his soul as he read the books which had been written by the Wittenberg genius. The warmth with which Lambert told his life-story and the disclosure of his real name, overcame the

coldness which Luther exhibited in his previous attitude toward the newcomer. In the Saxon capital the Frenchman was soon to experience that cordiality of spirit which had marked his previous associations with Christian liberals in Switzerland and in Eisenach.

What Lambert and Luther wrote subsequent to the interview reveals the sanguine character of their conference. Writing to Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, on the twentieth of January, 1523 Lambert stated, "I believe that I was called to Martin by the Lord himself so that we may build together a strong fortress, the one brother giving assistance to the other." (2) Two years later when the glowing enthusiasm which marked the Wittenberg meeting had vanished, Lambert retained his high esteem for Luther; in the introduction to one of his works he wrote, "I know him (Luther) to be an apostle and an angel of God." (3) Luther's opinion of the former Avignon Observant has been preserved in his letter to George Spalatin. On the twenty-second of January, 1523 he wrote, "There is present that Johannes Serranus, in reality Franciscus Lambertus, who is noble also in his appearance.....Concerning the integrity of the man there is no question. The man appeals to me in every respect, and I have observed him with sufficient care, in fact as well as a man can be observed; and (I conclude) that he is worthy

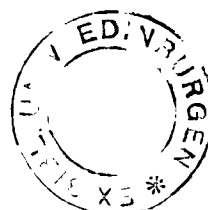
(2) Credo me a Domino evocatum ad Martinum, et, frater fratri auxilio existens, firmam pariter arcem edificemus.
Lambert to the Elector of Saxony. Schellhornius, J.G., "Amoenitates Literariae," IV, p.336.

(3) "Farrago Omnium Fere Rerum Theologicarum," p. 6.

of a modicum of support and assistance from us in his exile. It would seem to me that the Prince (Frederick the Wise) should be persuaded that he may not directly lose, but that he may be lending to Christ in charity twenty or thirty florins which are to be settled upon him until he can support himself either by gratuities from his countrymen or by his own pay derived from his labours." (4)

Evidently this letter was not cogent enough to produce the financial considerations which Luther had hoped to secure for Lambert. Accordingly, Luther addressed Spalatin again a month later, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1523 in the interests of the former friar whom he regarded as a bona fide convert to the Reformation. "You answer nothing pertaining to the Reverend Franciscus Lambertus, the Frenchman, as to what you accomplished with the Prince," he wrote. Continuing, Luther said, "Surely he is a good man though an exile. It is difficult for us to support him entirely, but it is more serious to desert him. I am not asking for a stipend for him;

- (4) Adest Johannes ille Serranus, vero nomine Franciscus Lampertus, imaginibus quoque nobilis ----. De integritate viri nulla est dubitatio Mihi per omnia placet vir, et satis spectatus mihi est, quantum homo spectari potest, ut dignus sit, quem in exilio paululum feramus et juvemus.... Videretur mihi Principi persuadendum, ut jam non perdat, sed in charitate Christo foeneret 20 aut 30 florenos, in eum collocandos, donec vel a suis tribulibus vel proprio stipendio sese sustentet de labore suo. Herminjard, op. cit. pp 116-117; "D. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefe," III, pp. 18-19.



but that he be assisted occasionally or once up to ten or about - aurei." (5)

Important as the contacts of Lambert were with the Great Reformer, he did not restrict his relations to the religious leader. Shortly after his arrival - probably immediately subsequent to the conference with Luther - Lambert turned to Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, the powerful patron of Luther. He wrote to the Ruler on the twentieth of January 1523, presenting himself as a "useless servant of Jesus Christ." Lambert assured Frederick that it pleased God that The Elector allowed him to come to the land where the "sincere believers of Christ dwell." He recounted his experiences in the Avignon monastery, his services as apostolic-preacher and he told how the merciful God led him away from "this Ur of the Chaldeans." Lambert also informed the Elector that he had aimed to write a tract setting forth his reasons for deserting the monastic cell. Frederick learned further of the plans of Lambert for the Wittenberg sojourn and the situation with reference to the progress of the evangelical cause in France. The letter was concluded with the earnest hope that the Name of Christ might be more and more glorified in the realm of Frederick the wise.(6)

(5) Tu nihil respondes pro Domino Francisco Lamperto Gallo, quid apud Principem effeceris. Certe vir bonus est et exsul, nobis autem grave est eum alere in totum, gravius autem deserere. -----Stipendium non peto pro eo, sed ut aliquando juvetur, vel semel adhuc 10 aut circiter aureis... Herminjard, op. cit. pp. 117-118; "D. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefe," III, p. 30. Weimar Edition.

(6) Herminjard, op. cit. I, pp. 112-114. Number 60.

Lambert also sought to further his relationships with George Spalatin, who was the Court-Preacher of The Elector and the intermediary between Luther and Frederick. It will be recalled that Jacob Straus, a supporter of Luther at Eisenach, had corresponded with Spalatin concerning Lambert, while the latter was staying in that city; and that it was through the intervention of the chaplain that Lambert was enabled to communicate with Luther. Writing to the Court-Preacher on the twentieth of January, 1523, the recently admitted member of the Wittenberg school expressed the hope that he might be allowed to remain in the Saxon capital. He planned to teach at the university and to translate the German evangelical writings into his native language. The religious enthusiast referred to the excellent opportunity that had come to the "Illustrious Prince" to rescue the Gospel from the sepulchres of the scholastics. The letter was concluded with the prayer that the Lord should open their eyes lest they slumber in incredulity, permitting the adversaries of the Judgments of Christ to say, "We shall prevail against them." (7)

These letters reveal the same eagerness for activity that Lambert had displayed in the Swiss cities, in which he had stopped, as well as in Eisenach. Although Luther had intimated that there was already an abundance of very able teachers at the university, arrangements were completed whereby Lambert was to present a series of lectures covering

(7) Ibid, pp. 114-116, Number 61.

the Prophecy of Hosea, the Psalms, the Gospel of St. Luke or some other book of the Bible. (8) "But," Lambert added in his letter to Spalatin, "nothing without the counsel of our Martin". (9) The choice fell upon an Old Testament work, and Lambert began his expositions of the Book of Hosea. (10) This occurred in February, 1523; Spalatin wrote in his diary, "Francis Lambert of Avignon, a Frenchman, who has come to Wittenberg lectured on the Prophecy of Hosea before an audience of goodly number". (11)

In addition to his exegetical presentations on Hosea, Lambert set himself to the task about which he had spoken in his letters to Frederick and to Spalatin; namely, to produce a tract disclosing his experiences in the Franciscan cloister at Avignon and his reasons for rejecting the monastic habit. This he accomplished in his "Rationes propter quas Minoritarum conversationem habitumque rejecit" ("Reasons on account of which he rejected the way of life and garb of the Minorites").

- (8) Et quanquam nos abundemus lectoribus optimis. Herminjard, Ibid, p. 117; vel Oseam prophetam, vel Psalmos, vel Lucam, vel aliquid tale. Herminjard, Ibid, p. 113.
- (9) Sed nihil absque nostri Martini concilio, Ibid, p.115; also p. 113.
- (10) These lectures were published at Strasbourg in March, 1525 and dedicated by Lambert to Frederick the Wise.
- (11) Franciscus Lambertus Avenionensis patria Gallus, Wittebergam profectus, Hoseam Prophetam praelegit, satis frequenti auditorio, Schellhornius, J.G., "Amoenitates Literariae," Tome IV, p. 332.

Written in February, 1523 the work was an attempt to show that the attractive stories of monastic life and piety which had captivated his youthful fancy, were in reality scandals. Because his entire monastic venture had been such a "grand deception," he turned his back upon this form of spiritual activity. He summarised his reactions to his religious experiences in three points: (a) I renounce all the inventions of the Friars Minor, declaring that I will hold to the Holy Gospel as the only necessary rule of my own faith as well as for all Christians; (b) I deny everything in my former preaching which is not in accordance with the simplicity of the Gospel; (c) Since no one is able to attain unto the knowledge of the truth unless he detaches himself from the pope, I emancipate myself from his decrees.(12)

During the following month, March, 1523, Lambert prepared a second treatise on his monastic pursuits. Entitled "Evangelici in Minoritarum Regulam Commentarii" ("Evangelical Commentary on the Rule of the Minorites"), the work portrays an effort on the part of Lambert to manifest further what elements in the order of the Friars Minor are not in agreement with the Word of God. He relates that at one time he also interpreted the monastic rule according to the flesh; then the tyranny of the pope and the sinister human inventions

(12) This work has been reprinted in Schellhornius, op. cit. pp. 312-324. Herminjard has translated sections of it into French under the title, "Francois Lambert D'Avignon au pieux lecteur," op. cit. pp. 118-123.

still veiled the clarity of the true Gospel. But now, he avers, his eyes have been opened through the Grace of God, and he has renounced the errors which misled him as a child. Because of his recent revelation he made a diligent study of the Franciscan Rule, and finding it lacking in evangelical qualities he rejected it. The Word of God has displaced the monastic rule as the only trustworthy spiritual guide for Lambert, inasmuch as it is efficacious to perceive the frailties of human devices. Following his discussion of the Word of God as the all-embracing sufficiency for Christian conduct, Lambert launched upon a fiery denunciation of the papacy. This he characterised as the embodiment of Antichrist and apostasy. God orders us, Lambert urged, to three duties: (a) to leave this kingdom (the pope's) which is alien to God in all points; (b) to turn to the precious "cup" of the Word of God; and (c) to oppose the existence of the impious kingdom through the application of the Scriptures.(13)

In an attempt to evaluate the writings of Lambert on the Minorites, it is necessary to bear in mind that an impetuous nature such as he possessed naturally rebelled against the rigorous legal requirements which the Rule of the Observants demanded. In addition, it must be remembered that Lambert was

(13) Herminjard has translated this work into French under the title, "François Lambert D'Avignon à tous les Frères Mineurs." op. cit. pp. 123-128. The introductions were written by Martin Luther and Anémond de Coct. Herminjard has translated de Coct's portion from the Latin under the title "Anémond de Coct, chevalier français, au Lecteur, op. cit. pp. 148-151.

constructing a psychological defence-mechanism through which he unconsciously proposed to vindicate himself for having deserted the order to which he had promised to devote his whole life. After all, he had betrayed the vow whereby he had pledged his entire being to chastity, poverty and obedience; and his own sensitive spirit impelled him to seek a justification for this abandonment. (14)

These tracts on the Franciscans were written before Lambert had officially entered the University of Wittenberg. According to the "Album Academiae Vitebergensis," (P.117) "Franciscus Lambertus civit Gaul" was matriculated on the thirtieth of April, 1523. The name appears in connection with Anémond de Coct, Knight of Rhodes; and Claudius Tarento, a nobleman. (15) They were admitted during the rectorship of Johann Swertfeger, Doctor of Jurisprudence. (16) That the Frenchmen who had come to the Saxon capital had made a favourable impression, is attested by the fact that the three students, who had been matriculated at the same time, were the guests of Frederick the Elector, on Pentecost, the twenty-third of May, 1523. They were entertained at Lochau, a small village and

(14) That the writings of Lambert on the Minorites were not well received by the Franciscans is shown by a marginal note in the Works of the Order published at Ingolstadt in 1543: Hic Allophylus i.e. alienigena fuit quidam Gallus Franciscus Lamperti nomine, Minorita apostata, qui monasticis magnam imposuit calumniam suis in scriptis. Schellhornius, op. cit. p. 375.

(15) Clemen, O., "Zwei Gutachten Franz Lamberts," "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichten," Band XXII, p. 130.

(16) Foerstmann, Carolus Eduardus, "Album Academiae Vitebergensis," p. 117.

fortress near Wittenberg. (17) Lambert has given us a glimpse of the activities of his countrymen at Frederick's court and at the university. In his "Primum Duodecim Prophetarum, nempe Oseam, Commentarii" he wrote, "Occasionally earls, knights, noblemen and even others come to Wittenberg from our Gaul that they might see thee, Illustrious Prince, and Martin Luther, the director of activities," (18)

After Lambert had been officially admitted into the university, he extended his courses of lectures to include expositions of the Psalms, the Gospel of St. Luke, the Epistles, Ezekiel and other prophecies. (19) His interests, however, were not only devoted to intellectual pursuits; they were directed also to a personal side of his life. He began to contemplate seriously the advisability of matrimony. On the twenty-fourth of June, 1523 (St. John the Baptist's Day) he became engaged to Christina, whom he had met at the home of Augustinus Schurf, a doctor of medicine in Wittenberg. The future bride was a native of a village near Wittenberg, Ertzberg by name, where her father was a baker. The marriage took place about three weeks after the engagement had been announced, on the thirteenth of July, 1523 (St. Margaret's Day).

(17) "Diary of George Spalatin," Schellhornius, op.cit.pp.333-334.

(18) "Veniunt, passim Wittembergam Comites, Equites, Nobiles, & alii etiam e Gallia nostra, ut te inclytum Ducem videant, ac praefectum operum Mart. Lutherum." Reprinted in Schellhornius, op. cit. p. 332.

(19) Herminjard, op. cit. p. 132; Clemen O., op.cit. p. 130.

The matrimonial step was taken by Lambert only after serious consideration. On his engagement day he made the following confession: "I am driven, I admit, both by the flesh (and if I submit to it, I perish) and likewise by the Word of God (which charges me to take this step) that I should take a wife to prevent committing fornication even in (my) heart." (20) In an effort to avoid the possibility of incurring the ill-will of Luther, Lambert consulted the Reformer concerning the forthcoming union with Christina. (21) In all probability Luther was not enthusiastic over Lambert's matrimonial aspirations. Two days prior to Lambert's wedding day he wrote to Spalatin, "To me it is very annoying that backsliding monks gather here in such large number; and what is even more perturbing is the fact that they wish to marry at once, even though this type of person is not in a position to assume the responsibilities incident to the married estate. I am planning daily how a limit may be set to this." (22) The Elector was more cordially inclined towards the move which Lambert had made, and sent him a gift of venison which Lambert acknowledged with gratification. The prospective bridegroom requested, however, information relative to the proper method

(20) Urgeor, fateor, et a carne, cui si consensero, pereor, itidem, et a verbo Dei, mihi id praecipiente, ut, ne vel corde fornicationem admittam, uxorem habeam. Herminjard, op. cit. p. 143.

(21) Non absque concilio nostri Martini, viri Christianissimi. Ibid. Luther's wedding did not take place until June, 1525, Giesar, Hartmann, "Luther," II, p. 175.

(22) Mihi sane molestissimum est, huc tanto numero volare defectos Monachos, Et, quod magis mouet statim vxores educere, cum sit genus hominum ad res regendas ineptissimum. Ego quotidie cogito de consilio, vt modus isti rei figatur. "D. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefe," III, v. 109. Weimar Edition.

of preserving the meat so that it might be kept for the nuptial feast. (23)

That Lambert would encounter difficulties in becoming the head of a family was only to be expected. Adding the support of a wife to his already very limited financial resources, did not alleviate his pressing circumstances. Opposition, originating in the French monks, who espoused the so-called holier celibate state, lifted its head and caused Lambert grave concern. He found an opportunity to reply to their objections in a series of lectures which were delivered at the University of Wittenberg. In the attempt to vindicate his own position Lambert based these expositions on the Song of Songs. In his explanations he dealt with the sublime mystery of the sacred marriage between Christ and His Bride, the Church. (24)

In the late summer of 1523 Lambert began to consider the advisability of formulating plans to leave Wittenberg. "Francis Lambert has decided to leave our fields for Zurich," Luther wrote to Spalatin on the fourteenth of August. (25) In all probability Lambert's financial condition, which naturally had become even more embarrassing since he married, constituted an important factor in reaching the decision to

(23) Lambert's Letter to Spalatin, 4th July, 1523, Herminjard, op. cit. pp. 144-145.

(24) "In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis, libellum quidem sensibus altissimum, in quo sublimia sacri Conjugii Mysteria quae in Christo et Ecclesia sunt pertractantur, Commentarii. Wittebergae praelecti."

(25) Lambertus Franciscus statuit e nostris terris discedere Turegum, Herminjard, op. cit. pp. 145-146.

depart from the seat of the German Reformation. How paltry the monetary returns from his lectures at Wittenberg really were is revealed by the fact that a six-months' course of exegesis on the Gospel of St. Luke produced a donation of fifteen groschen. (26)

Another element which tended to draw him away from Wittenberg was his desire to further the evangelical cause in his native land. Shortly after Lambert had arrived in the Saxon Capital he informed the Elector that "nearly all Gaul has been stirred." (27) In an effort to win favour for the new religious impulse in France, Lambert wrote letters to responsible personages. (28) Among these was one to the "supreme council of the King or (as they name it) the Parliament of the whole country, Dauphiné." (29) These letters were carried by Frenchmen who were sojourning at Wittenberg, chief of whom were his friends, Anémond de Coct

(26) At the 1936 rate of exchange this would amount approximately to a half crown. Lambert began his course on Saint Luke in May, Clemen O., "Zwei Gutachten Franz Lamberts," "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichten," Band XXII, p. 130.

(27) Gallia pene omnis commota est. Herminjard, op.cit.p.113.

(28) Occupatus multis, scriptis potissimum, quae pluribus in Gallias misi. Herminjard, op. cit. p. 131. In Lambert's letter to Spalatin on 14 June, 1523 he spoke about writing to "Illustr. D. de Camera, Sabaudiae Comes supremus et aliquot alii Domini." Ibid, p. 141.

(29) ad supremum regium Consilium, sive (ut vocant) parlamentum totius patriae Delphinatus. Ibid, p. 140. One of the old provinces of pre-Revolutionary France, Dauphiné forms, since 1790, the departments of Isère, Drôme and Hautes Alpes.

and Claudius of Tarento. (30) Besides addressing influential figures in his homeland in the interests of the Reformation, Lambert prepared evangelical works in his native tongue. "I have begun" he wrote to Spalatin, "to prepare some things in French because messengers from Hamburg have come to me, asking for tracts in the French language." (31) These writings were probably published there because of the rigid French proscription of evangelical literature. From this German port they were sent to Gaul by water. (32) An additional method, which Lambert employed in his zeal to propagate the Gospel on French soil, was revealed in his pressure upon Luther, whom he persuaded to write to France in the interests of the Reformation. Despite the condemnation of Luther's writings by the Sorbonne, the Reformer addressed a letter to the "Advocate of the King of France," who, it was believed, was favourably

(30) Ibid, pp. 140-141. Anémond de Coct arrived in Wittenberg in March, 1523. He left on September 7, 1523 when he carried Luther's letter to the Duke of Savoy (Charles III). Ibid, p. 151. Claudius of Tarento probably came to Wittenberg with de Coct and left in May, 1523. Ibid, p. 131. He probably went to Lyon where he published the religious writings that he had collected, Baum, J.W., "Franz Lambert von Avignon," p. 42.

(31) *Gallice item nonnulla edere cepi, quod ad me ex Amburgo nuncii advenerint, tractatus gallicos postulantes.* Herminjard, op. cit. p. 140.

(32) *quos demum navigio in Gallias mittit,* Ibid.

inclined towards the evangelical movement.(33)

While Luther was reluctant to have Lambert leave Wittenberg, he did not attempt to dissuade him from his earnest desire to launch upon larger service for the sake of the Gospel; in fact, Luther used his influence to obtain a place for Lambert where he would be more advantageously located to spread the Reformation principles among the French people. On the fourth of December, 1523 Luther wrote to his friend, Nicolas Garber, at Strasbourg concerning the possibility of Lambert's finding a position in the Alsatian city. Luther stated "that he (Lambert) feels that he would be better off nearer France, and that he (Lambert) hopes later to put my writings into French in order to make money on French soil." (34)

Lambert departed from Wittenberg near the end of February, 1524, after having spent thirteen months there. During this stay he had achieved one of the ambitions of his life, namely, to meet Martin Luther. He also bore the

(33) *Scripsit Doctor Martinus Regis Galliae advocato, nostris desideriis acquiescens.* Lambert to Spalatin, Herminjard, op. cit. p. 131. Baum suggests that the advocate was Peter Lizet who favoured the Reformation at one period of his life. op. cit. p. 40.

(34) Currie, Margaret, "Letters of Martin Luther," p. 116; also "D. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefe," III, p. 126.

proud distinction of having been the first French friar who sought the light of the Gospel in Germany. (35) The first also of the clergymen of his country to enter into matrimonial ties, he prayed that many more would follow his step.(36) Inspired at Wittenberg with the zeal to evangelise his native land he journeyed to Strasbourg. (37) But, before he took up his abode there, he made a sincere attempt to implant the Gospel into the religious consciousness of Metz where he arrived in March, 1524. (38)

(35) Freheri, D. Pauli, "Theatorum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum," p. 104.

(36) Lambert to Spalatin, Herminjard, op. cit. p. 145.

(37) Lambert had originally planned to go to Zurich (Herminjard, I, pp.145-146).

(38) Franciscus Lambertus Avenionensis, Theologiae Doctor, olim Minorita, ex Witteberga Metas ad ministerium verbi vocatus in Quadragesima abiit ex Saxonibus, "Diary of George Spalatin," Schellhornius, op. cit. p. 360. In his letter to the Elector of Saxony in March, 1524 Lambert informed Frederick that he had been called to Metz by the will of God. When Lambert left Wittenberg the Elector was in Nuremberg attending a Diet. Ibid, p. 361.

c. His Experiences in Metz

Metz was an important city of the sixteenth century. Its industries and commerce had been developed, while its strategic position in time of war made it an enviable possession of the Holy Roman Empire. The population was predominantly French which was encouraging to Francis Lambert, who was not sufficiently familiar with the German language to use it in sermons. By the time that Lambert arrived in Metz the religious movement, which he was espousing vigorously, was exerting an influence in this place. The deeds of Martin Luther were being extolled and the writings which came from the pen of the Wittenberg genius were winning adherents to the evangelical cause.

Among the influential persons who showed a fondness for the Reformation was Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, whom Lambert had met in Geneva in June, 1522. Gifted in languages, jurisprudence, theology and medicine, Agrippa had taught at the universities of Pavia and Turin. Upon his return from Italy he became counsel for the city of Metz where he began his duties in 1518. While in Metz he applied himself anew to the study of theology, especially to the books which had been written in Wittenberg. He became an admirer of Luther whose writings he shared with friends. Under his stimulus the new movement assumed unusual boldness in Metz. A letter criticising the established order of Christianity was fastened to the Palace of the Bishop. Theological debates were conducted, and several ministers became so daring by 1523 that

they proclaimed the doctrines of Luther from their pulpits.(1)

The efforts of Cornelius Agrippa in his attempt to establish a more evangelical Christianity were supported by Roger Brennon, priest of the parish of Saint Croix and defender of Le Févre d'Etaples; Nicolaus de Heu; Tilmann; and especially by John Castellan, an Augustinian friar. (2) Endowed with a talent for public speaking, Castellan developed into a preacher of influence and effectiveness. Before Christmas, 1523 he commenced to conduct services in Vic, a village near Metz. During the season of Lent in 1524, he came to Metz where this "great and very eloquent preacher" denounced the vices and sins of the priests, declaring that they abused the poorer classes. The common people heard him gladly, but they were unsuccessful in their efforts to rescue him from his embittered enemies. Castellan was arrested and after an imprisonment of nine months he was burned at the stake as a heretic on the twelfth of January, 1525.

The tragic death of this daring Augustinian is described by Lambert in his letter to Frederick the Wise, written in March, 1525. The victim is characterised as a servant of God, who stood unperturbed by the imminent fire, bearing his degradation (as they called it) in a most agreeable manner. He walked to the "place of fire" as if going to a banquet. Upon arrival at the stake he genuflected and offered himself to be tied to it. In reality, Lambert avers, it was a remarkable

(1) Herminjard, A. L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs," has reprinted portions of Agrippa's correspondence. A short biography appears in Volume I, page 46. See also "Chroniques de la ville de Metz," pp. 755, 791, 804 (from Baum, J.W., "Franz Lambert von Avignon," pp. 57-60.)

(2) Herminjard, op. cit. pp. 259-260.

victory, for Castellan was consecrated in the martyrdom of Christ. Invincible to the enemies of the truth, this most vigorous soldier of Christ triumphed. "Blessed and joyful he rests in the Lord, wearing a crown of righteousness".(3)

That the Castellan incident made a profound impression upon Lambert can not be doubted. He referred again to the horrifying event in his "In Amos, Abdiam et Ionam Commentarii" and in "Farrago Omnium Fere Rerum Theologicarum". In the latter Lambert expressed his assurance that God will fight on behalf of Castellan against the enemies of truth; and that the divine wrath will be aroused on behalf of one soldier. During his Strasbourg residence Lambert prepared also a tract on the martyrdom of the bold friar. Entitled "Le Martyre de Jehan Chastellain," the work describes the brutalities and the heroism of the victim who met his fate like a "prophet of God and a true Christian." Reflecting upon their friendship Lambert wrote, "I knew him intimately, in fact he was to me like Jonathan to David." (4)

The death of Castellan no doubt took place as a result of the mandate of Duke Antonius. Having been influenced by the entreaties of the higher clergy, Antonius decreed

(3) Schellhornius, J.G., "Amoenitates Literariae," Tome IV, p. 363. See also Herminjard, op. cit., pp. 345-346, and "Chroniques de la ville de Metz", p. 808, (from Baum, J. K., op. cit., pp. 60-61).

(4) Novi illum ex intimis. Fuit etenim mihi perinde atque Jonathas Davidi. Schellhornius. loc. cit.

(December 25, 1523) that no one, regardless of position or age, should possess any of Luther's writings, and any preacher who either secretly or openly accepted the doctrines of Luther should be delivered to the Inquisition. In this command the defenders of the old faith were given an undeniable advantage in their struggle to retain the established order. To the prophets of the rediscovered Gospel, it was a dark thunder cloud which appeared in the forenoon of the Reformation day in Metz.

Such was the religious situation in this city where Lambert hoped to win multitudes to the evangelical cause. Encouraged by the efforts of Castellán, Lambert sought official permission to preach in Metz. He was summoned to appear before the Council of Thirteen as well as before an assembly of the judges and clergymen. They heard him and after due deliberation granted his request. His passionate zeal for the Reformation drove him further in his efforts to win favour for the new doctrines. Following his method of procedure in Eisenach, he proposed to hold a public disputation on religious questions. For the intended conference he formulated one hundred and sixteen propositions which he offered to defend against anyone who was disposed to accept his challenge, provided that the basis for argumentation would be the Holy Scriptures.(5)

- (5) Ego autem proposui eisdem semel 116 propositiones, Lambert's "Farrago Omnium Fere Rerum Theologicarum." In the following year, 1525, Lambert expanded his Metz propositions into the work from which the above quotation was taken.

Lambert was restrained from this daring episode because the case of John Castellan was provoking not a little disturbance on the religious waters of Metz. Not satisfied with having frustrated the plans of Lambert relative to conducting a theological discussion, the champions of the old status made him the object of their persecution. The abbots, canons, monks and priests, who in Lambert's opinion composed the army of the Antichrist, marshalled their forces against the "Lutheran doctor." "But soon," wrote Lambert, "the whole cohort of Antichrist broke loose against me." (6) Through the efforts of the City Council his arrest was prevented.(7) This intervention probably saved him from suffering a fate similar to that which Castellan experienced.

Lambert had come to Metz with high hopes of conducting a successful campaign among people who spoke his own language. He soon learned, however, that he had entered a stronghold where the Roman religion was still very deeply entrenched. The opposition on the part of the representatives of the established religious order compelled Lambert to leave the

(6) Mais bientôt toute la cohorte de l'Antechrist se déchaîna contre moi, Herminjard, op. cit. pp.259-260. See also Lambert's "Commentarii in Micheam, Naum et Abacuc."

(7) Herminjard, loc. cit.

city after he had remained there for only eight days.(8) For the sake of future usefulness to the evangelical movement, he shook the dust of Metz off his shoes. From this mighty fortress of Roman Catholicism he journeyed to Strasbourg "that fortunate city where the Saviour had flashed the light of His Word." (9)

(8) Lambert wrote to the Council of Besaçon, "Mais les satellites du Pape furent animés contre moi d'une si grande fureur, qu'au bout de huit jours je fus forcé de prendre le chemin de Strasbourg. Herminjard, op.cit. p. 371.

(9) cette ville fortunée, que le Seigneur a éclairée de la lumière de sa Parole. Lambert to the King of France, Herminjard, op. cit. p. 260. While Lambert was in Strasbourg he made additional attempts to conduct a religious disputation in Metz, offering to allow himself and his books to be burned, if it would be found that he was in error. His requests to the Council of Metz were refused. See "Chroniques de la ville de Metz," p. 809, from Herminjard, op. cit. p. 303.

d. The Strasbourg Sojourn

The forerunner of the Reformation in Strasbourg was John Geiler. (1) Coming to this influential city in 1489 with an enthusiasm for church reform, he levelled his attacks against the corrupt practices of the church with telling effect, although he remained steadfast in the conventional piety. This late medieval preacher sowed the seed for church purification, and thus prepared the minds of the people for the reception of Luther's writings. The Ninety-Five Theses were posted "to the doors of every church and parsonage in the city." (2) Luther's other writings likewise encountered only an insignificant opposition because the city censor at that time was Sebastian Frank, a noted humanist. (3) In vain did Thomas Murner, a famous satirist of ecclesiastical abuses, demand the prohibition of heretical literature; and a similar fate befell the Edict of Worms, which commanded the destruction of Luther's books.

The first definite advocate for the Reformation in Strasbourg was Matthew Zell. (4) A scholar of marked erudition and a man of an irreproachable life, Zell was called from Freiburg in 1518 to become the people's priest at the Chapel of Saint Lawrence. Although he was the incumbent of

(1) He is also known in church history as John Geiler of Keyersberg, Lindsay, T.M., "History of the Reformation," I, p. 118. The population of Strasbourg was a little less than 20,000 in the middle of the fifteenth century, Ibid, p. 87.

(2) Ibid, p. 309..

(3) Strasbourg, Augsburg and Nuremberg were the preeminent seed-beds of the German Renaissance, Ibid, p. 60.

(4) Ellis, Hastings, "Martin Bucer", p. 22.

this important Roman Catholic position in Strasbourg, he had accepted Luther's theological premises. By confining his sermons to moral themes, Zell succeeded in concealing his agreement with the German Reformer for a period of two years. In 1521, when it was apparent that contention could not be averted, he began to proclaim the rediscovered Gospel, refraining, however, from quoting Luther's name. When there was no longer any misapprehension as to where Zell stood, the chapter refused to let him use the cathedral pulpit. To make up for this loss his admirers constructed a wooden rostrum which, with the consent of the City Council, was brought into the nave of the cathedral whenever Zell wished to preach. A bitter strife ensued. Although the aggressive preacher was called to account for his actions by the Bishop, the city fathers refused to comply with the request that he be dismissed. Soon Zell was joined in his efforts to preach the evangelical truths by Firn and Altbieser, who became members of the city clergy. In March, 1523 Wolfgang Capito came from Mayence to Strasbourg to accept the appointment to the provostship of Saint Thomas Church. The reforming party was next augmented by Martin Bucer, and with his arrival there had been gathered in Strasbourg a party of reformers who were probably not surpassed in Europe for "brilliance of intellect, fervency of zeal and unity of purpose."

During the formative days of this group, Francis Lambert came to Strasbourg. He arrived in the spring of 1524 as a fugitive from the threats of the enraged clergymen of Metz. In the Alsatian centre he was cordially welcomed - more graciously than at Wittenberg - for it will be recalled that

Luther was reluctant to have Lambert proceed to the Saxon capital. Strasbourg had already become the city of refuge for persecuted religious liberals. These prophets of new ideas came from Italy and Spain, Germany and France, the Netherlands and Great Britain, and regardless of reputation or poverty they were warmly received.

Among the refugees who sought a haven in Strasbourg while Lambert was there were two learned French divines, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Gerard Roussel, who arrived in October, 1525. (5) They had hastened to this hospitable city with the hope of finding a tranquil retreat there after attempts to repress the reform movement in France had begun. Through the defeat of the French army at Pavia, and the capture of Francis I, King of France, the impetus for the evangelical cause, which had been led by the King's sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême, and the "group of Meaux", sustained a severe setback. Measures were taken to suppress the publication of Luther's books, and the Parlement appointed a commission to discover, to try and to punish heretics. Lefèvre's translation of the Bible was publicly burned; while he himself had to take refuge in Strasbourg. (6) Another outstanding religious fugitive who fled to these congenial surroundings was William Farel, a friend of Lefèvre and an associate of the Meaux preachers.

(5) Ibid, p. 40.

(6) On the repression of the reform movement in France, see Lindsay, op. cit., II, pp. 144-151.

Subsequent to the persecution of this group Farel escaped to Switzerland where he aimed to teach or preach, but being unsuccessful in his efforts to find a place, he journeyed to Strasbourg where he joined his exiled countrymen. (7) The presence of these progressive preachers in this noted city during the sojourn of Lambert gave him a splendid opportunity to become acquainted with the leaders of religious thought in his own country. He was also enabled to learn at first hand what progress had been made with respect to the spread of the evangelical cause and what might be expected in view of the then existent unfavourable attitude on the part of the French authorities. (8)

Besides associating with the representatives of his native land Lambert allied himself with Bucer and the reforming party of Strasbourg. In their attempts to establish the Strasbourg Church upon an evangelical basis, the reformers invariably became involved in struggles with the papists.

(7) On William Farel see Lindsay, op. cit. p. 39, note. John Calvin did not join the Strasbourg refugees until 1528, Eells, op. cit. p. 40.

(8) Capito wrote to Zwingli on the twentieth of November, 1525 about the Frenchmen who were then lodged at his house. Farellus, Jacobus Stapulensis, Joh. Rufus, Vadastus et quidem Symon, omnes Galli et contubernales ac hospites mei (sc. te salutant). Jac. Stapulensis se nominat Antonium Peregrinum, et Rufus, Solinum, nam latere cupiunt et tamen pueris noti sunt. "Opp. Zwinglii, Epist." Pars I, p. 439, from Baum, J. W., "Franz Lambert von Avignon," p. 100. Jacobus Stapulensis was Jacques Lefèvre, "Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie," 1852, from Lindsay, op. cit. p. 141.

The strifes which were precipitated were episodes in which Lambert did not need to assume a subordinate role, for in polemics he found a keen delight. Among those who determined to defend the standing order of Christianity was Thomas Murner, to whom previous reference has been made. A humanist who had attacked the immorality of the clergy, Murner forsook the Reformation group when its champions assailed the doctrines and polity of the medieval church. In 1520 he abandoned Luther and published a series of pamphlets culminating in "Von den grossen Lutherischen Narren." It was so rabid and crude that the magistrates forbade its publication, and its author gained for himself the nickname, "Murnar." (9) During the course of a series of lectures which the reformers were offering - Bucer on the Psalms, Capito on Jeremiah and Lambert on Ezekiel - Murner conceived the idea of giving expositions on First Corinthians. From these presentations he produced a book entitled, "Teutsche Mess und Tauf, wie sie jetzt und zu Strassburg gehalten wird." He also maintained "the thesis that the Lord's Supper is a work and he challenged the preachers to refute him on Biblical grounds." (10) His invitation was quickly accepted. After the meeting the controversy spread among the people. Murner became so unpopular that he was insulted on the streets. When the hatred which was heaped upon him became unendurable, he sought redress from the magistrates. In 1526 an agreement was effected by which Murner

(9) The name "Murnar" is a combination of Murner and Narr; it means "Murner, the Fool." Lindsay rates Murner as one of Luther's most obstinate opponents, op.cit. I, p. 303.

(10) Eells, Hastings, op. cit., p. 33.

accepted a pension and promised to quit the city, never to return^{6.1} or to attack it in any manner.

More serious opposition came from Conrad Treger, the Provincial of the Augustinians in the Rhine Valley and in Swabia. While admitting the necessity of church reform, Treger expelled (from the monastery at Strasbourg) those who favoured Luther. Shortly before Lambert had come to Strasbourg the Provincial published and offered to defend publicly One Hundred Theses on the authority of the church and councils. His challenge was soon accepted, but he refused to meet his opponents on the ground that his bishop had forbidden him to dispute on religious questions. Deprived of the opportunity for public discussion Capito and Bucer anticipated Lambert in publishing in the name of the evangelical preachers a reply to the One Hundred Theses.(11) Treger retorted with a heated denunciation in which he accused the city of "cleaving to stinking heresy." He also issued an open letter; in it he abused the clergymen personally and proposed a disputation at which a fire should be kept burning to consume those convicted of heresy in case they would not recant. Bucer, Capito and Lambert accepted the challenge and invited him to a debate in Latin. Treger agreed. When the discussion

(11) Charissimi et vere a Deo docti fratres, Vuolfgangus Fabricius Capito et Martinus Bucerus, ex Argentoratensibus Episcopis duo, me praevenere. Lambert's letter to the Bishop of Lausanne, Herminjard, A. L. "Correspondance des Réformateurs," I, P. 330.

took place he contended that the absence of properly qualified judges made the meeting unofficial. He also asserted that the Christian Church could not err. On the other hand, the preachers maintained that the dogmas of the church were authoritative only in so far as they accorded with the Scriptures. Each side held to its point, and the conference ended after the third session with both parties claiming the victory.

Apart from the occasional theological controversies between the representatives of the old and the new orders in religion, the Reformation in Strasbourg was not marked with the fanatical episodes which characterised the movement in Wittenberg under the leadership of Carlstadt, Zwilling and the Zwickau Prophets. The impulse in the Alsatian capital was primarily an intellectual revolt. As such one of its most important aspects was the endeavour to establish a more efficient educational system. At the opening of the century; that is, the sixteenth, education was provided almost entirely by the chapter schools of which there were four in Strasbourg. These were inadequate, and by 1523 they had disappeared. Realising the need for the spread of knowledge, Bucer began a series of lectures in Latin. So rapidly did this work develop that within a year he became an official salaried teacher with assistants. One of his first colleagues was Capito who gave expositions on the Old Testament one day, while Bucer offered discourses on the New Testament the following day. The sessions were at first held in Capito's house, but when the attendance showed such remarkable increases, the classes were removed first to the Carmelite and then to the

Dominican monastery. With the coming of Caspar Hedio and Francis Lambert the faculty of the growing school was enlarged. Bucer gives us a glimpse of Lambert's work in connection with the Strasbourg educational enterprise. Writing to his exiled brethren, the Reformer recommended Lambert as "one who is instructed in the true knowledge of God and equally in piety. Recently he prepared commentaries on the Song of Songs, the Gospel of Luke and the Prophet Hosea in addition to many other (Biblical books.)" (12) The Scriptural explanations which were given by the Strasbourg Reformers may seem relatively unimportant from the modern point of view. Their significance, however, is attested by the fact that out of this humble beginning there developed the present celebrated University of Strasbourg.

That Lambert was gaining a reputation in Strasbourg can not be doubted. He had entered into the christianising spirit of the group whose members were united in their purpose to purify the religion of this liberal-minded city. Upon the City Council he had likewise made a favourable impression; in accordance with the decision that the Strasbourg clergy should be enfranchised, Lambert was admitted to full citizenship on the first of November, 1524. (13) As a further confirmation

(12) vera Dei scientia ac pietate juxta instructum, qui, aeditis dudum commentariis in Cantica canticorum, Evangelion Lucae et Oseam prophetam, praeter alia multa, "Martin Bucer aux Frères dispersés en France," Herminjard, op. cit. p. 319.

(13) Wagenmann, Julius, "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche," VIII, p. 373.

of the work which he was doing for the progress of the evangelical cause, the magistrates voted him an annual stipend of fifty gulden. (14)

Much as Lambert appreciated this consideration on the part of the city fathers, the amount was insufficient to cover the expenses which were necessary for the support of his enlarging family. On the twenty-ninth of November, 1524 a son, who was named Isaac, was added to the Lambert family circle. (15) About a month later Lambert wrote to his friend, Henri Cornelius Agrippa, concerning his destitute circumstances. "We are experiencing great poverty;" he said, "for everything is very costly and I am overwhelmed with many debts. Brethren belonging to the court-and perhaps you among them-have sent me twenty gold aurei (that shine like the sun.); I have never had anything more opportune. In all let the name of God be praised who has aided us and who is able to deliver us from such extreme need." (16) A year later his impoverished circumstances had not yet been alleviated. We find Lambert addressing the Council of Strasbourg to acknowledge the weekly allowance which the rulers saw fit to grant him during the past year. As a mark of appreciation he had dedicated to the Council his recent commentary

(14) Stieve, F. St., "Allegemeine deutsche Biographie," XVII, p. 550.

(15) ^{filium} donavit Christus nobis/vicesimo nono Novembris;---
puer, Isaac nomine, sanus est. Lambert to H.C. Agrippa, Herminjard, op. cit. p. 317.

(16) Paupertatem multam sustinemus; nam omnia carissima, et obruor ego debitis multis: fratres aulici, et forsan tu cum illis, miserunt mihi aureos solares viginti; nihil opportunius habui unquam. In omnibus benedictum nomen Domini, qui juvit nos, et potens est nos liberos

on the last four minor prophets. (17) At the same time he took occasion to entreat his benefactors to continue their favours so that "he and his family might be sustained." (18) The request for the continuation of his stipulated gratuity was refused, but in the event that Lambert would be unable to maintain his affairs the city fathers promised that they would not allow his family to perish. (19)

Lambert also informed the magistrates of the lectures which he had delivered at the newly founded University of Strasbourg. He had offered exegetical discourses on Ezekiel, and the first three epistles of Saint Paul; at the present time, he wrote, he was studying the Prophecy of Daniel and he was explaining an "appealing book, the Secret Revelation." (20) References were also made to his publications, an item that was of great importance, because the large proportion of Lambert's books were written during his Strasbourg sojourn. These writings included commentaries mainly on Old Testament books; a compendium of theological propositions setting forth his

(17) "Commentarii in quattuor ultimos Prophetam nempe Sophoniam, Aggeum, Zachariam et Malachiam."

(18) avoir de quoi me nourrir ainsi que ma famille.
Herminjard, A.L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs,"
I, p. 417.

(19) on ne devra pas le laisser mourir de faim, "Registres du Conseil de Strasbourg," from Herminjard, loc. cit.

(20) Herminjard, op. cit. p. 416.

doctrinal beliefs; and treatises on marriage and the church.(21) Strasbourg offered unusual advantages for his literary efforts; the printing press of John Herwagen afforded a ready means to bring his works to the attention of the European reforming circles.

During the last days of Lambert's stay in Strasbourg, delegates from different cities and countries of Germany gathered in the summer of 1526 at Speyer on the Rhine River to settle, if possible, the perplexing religious questions of the period. The commissioner from Strasbourg was its Stadtmeister, Jacob Sturm, who was favourably inclined towards the Reformation. Among the other representatives was Landgrave Philip of Hesse, who, having been won to the evangelical party, determined to introduce the principles of the Reformation into the churches of his state. The meeting of Philip and Sturm in Speyer was a turning point in the life of Francis Lambert, for the Strasbourg mayor spoke in a commendatory manner about him. Lambert was described as a man who was distinguished for piety, spirit, knowledge and his capacity to confound and silence the papist doctors. (22) In this appreciative, perhaps flattering, fashion Jacob Sturm and Philip Melanchthon recommended Francis Lambert to Philip of Hesse. (23) Pursuant to this interview Lambert was invited to come to Hesse where he was to assist

(21) The list of books which Lambert wrote in Strasbourg is included in the appendix-List of Lambert's Writings.

(22) Bayle, Pierre, "Dictionnaire Historique et Critique," Tome III, p. 40.

(23) Haag, "La France Protestante," Tome VI, p. 240.

the energetic young ruler in his attempts to establish the Hessian Church upon an evangelical basis. Before receiving this invitation, however, he had already left Strasbourg to return to Wittenberg - a decision which was no doubt made when he perceived that his dream of evangelising his native country could not be realised. (24)

With the acceptance of the call from Philip, Lambert completed his wanderings for the sake of the Gospel. During this period (which covered approximately four years) he had spent more than a year at Wittenberg, the fountain-head of the German Reformation; he had also sojourned for more than two years at Strasbourg where the reforming process was being executed in an effective manner. (25) In the late summer of 1526 Lambert journeyed to Kassel where he made his headquarters in the Carmelite Cloister. (26) In the domains of Philip he became a leader during the early stages of the Hessian Reformation and a professor at the first German University established on evangelical principles, -Philipps-Universität, Marburg an der Lahn, Germany.

- (24) Denhard, Bernhard, "Geschichte der Entwicklung des Christenthums in den Hessischen Ländern," p. 125. See also Tilemanni, "Philipp Johann dicti Schenk, Vitae professorum theologiae," p. 4.
- (25) In his "Commentarii in Quattuor Ultimos Prophetas," Lambert wrote, "Argentina beata est, si in verbo Dei permanserit. Fiat."
- (26) Denhard, Bernhard, op. cit. p. 175 states that Lambert lived in Kassel from Saint Michael's Day (29th September, 1526) to Whitsuntide, 1527 when he removed to Marburg.

IV. LAMBERT, THE REFORMER AND THEOLOGICAL PROFESSOR

1. The Synod at Homberg

a. The Background

Judging from the modern point of view when Bavaria and Prussia are playing the leading roles in the German Reich, there is a tendency to minimise the significance of Hesse in the drama of the Reformation. This is especially true since 1866 when Hesse was made a province of Prussia. In the sixteenth century, however, Hesse was more powerful politically than it is to-day. Its territories, likewise, extended beyond the present boundaries: Philip's domains covered that section of country which is bounded by the Rhine and Werra Rivers, the duchy of Westphalia and the diocese of Würzburg. (1) This geographical position afforded Hesse a strategic location on the great trade route which extended from Hamburg and Bremen through Frankfort-am-Main to Switzerland and Italy. In the opposite direction the dominion of Philip supplied thoroughfares for the lines of commerce from Paris and the Rhine Valley to Berlin and Eastern Germany. "Es war ein Durchgangs-und Vermittelungsland," is the epigrammatic description of Wilhelm Maurer. (2) From the standpoint of religion also, as expressed in the desire to further the German Reformation, the position of Hesse was not unimportant. It was second only to Saxony with which it was intimately connected not only through the marriage of Landgrave Philip to Christiana, the daughter of Duke George of Saxony,

(1) Putzers, F.W., "Historischer Schul-Atlas," pp.78-79.

(2) Lectures on "The Reformation in Hesse," delivered at Philipps-Universität, Marburg an der Lahn, Germany, July, 1933.

but also by the large number of Hessian students who had matriculated at the University of Wittenberg. (3)

Inasmuch as Hesse filled a place that was above the ordinary among the German states during the period when Philip wielded her sceptre, it is only natural that one can discover early traces of the impulse for the purification of the medieval ecclesiastical system. Towards the end of the fourteenth century Heinrich von Langenstein, a philosopher and teacher, following the example of the Councils of Pisa and Constance, called the attention of his pupils and disciples to the necessity of convening an assembly which should seek the reformation of the church. Before 1500 John Ussener, who was minister at Schotten in Hesse, opposed the extreme practice which the medieval ecclesiasticism was pursuing with reference to the celebration of church festivals. In the year in which Luther announced his famous theses, Jacob Limburg, a Franciscan monk at the monastery at Marburg, raised his voice against the errors of the Roman Church, declaring that for five hundred years the Gospel had not been purely preached. (4) For the boldness with which he attacked the inconsistencies of the church, he was dragged from the pulpit and thrown into a dungeon from which he preached through a window to those citizens who were eager to hear the Gospel. At Hersfeld

(3) Schmitt, Wilhelm in "Die Homberger Synode und ihre Vorgeschichte," has listed seventy-six Hessian students who matriculated at the University of Wittenberg between 1516 and 1526. See pp. 95-104.

(4) Dennard, Bernhard, "Geschichte der Entwicklung des Christentums in den Hessischen Ländern," p. 80

the Abbot, Crato Miles, had become so friendly disposed to the evangelical cause that he welcomed Luther upon his return from Worms in 1521, and invited him to preach. (5)

Not the least important item which favoured the introduction of the Reformation into Hesse was Landgrave Philip's appointment of John Feige as chancellor. Feige was born at Lichtenau and educated at the University of Erfurt where he studied jurisprudence. Through his frequent associations with the Hessian writers, Eobanus Hessus and Turicius Cordus, Feige won the admiration of his countrymen by whom he was regarded as one of the best-informed men of his generation. In his spiritual outlook he was a humanist, and as such he exerted a profound influence upon his ruler toward bringing him to the acceptance of a more progressive interpretation of Christianity. (6)

Another step which was helpful to the Hessian Reformation was the selection of Adam Kraft as chaplain to Philip. Born in Fulda in 1493, Kraft was educated at the universities of Erfurt and Wittenberg; at the latter institution he learned to know

- (5) Additional reform preachers and monks included Heinrich Fuchs of Hersfeld, Johann Kirchhain of Neustadt, Caspar Wenix and Heinrich Rockenbergh of Butzbach, and Johann von Campis (brother of Thomas), the Carmelite monk of Kassel. See Vilmar, A.F.C., "Geschichte des Confessionstandes der evangelischen Kirche in Hessen, besonders Hessen-Kassel," pp. 1-2.
- (6) Upon the death of Chancellor Feige on March 20, 1543 Philip Melancthon wrote Philip of Hesse as follows: "Das der Ewige Gott E.F. Gnaden Cantzlern Herrn Johann Feigen den weissen und ehrlichen Mann auss diessem elend in das ewige Leben erfordert, wie wol ehr nu in ewiger ruhe ist, so ist doch solcher tod zu klagen, das ein solcher nutzer Mann auss der Regirung weg ist, und man sihet, wie wenig tüchtiger leut in allen ländern zu finden. Der ewige Gott wolle tüchtige und glückselige personen geben." Schmincke, Friedrich Christoph, "Monimenta Hassiaca," III, p. 305

Lutner and Melanchthon personally. (7) Having completed his formal preparation Kraft returned to his birthplace where he began his ministry. Because he preached the doctrines which were being taught at Wittenberg, Kraft was compelled to flee to Hersfeld. Here he appeared before Philip who was so deeply impressed by his piety and ability that the Landgrave appointed him the official court-preacher.

The event which presaged the break with the established religious order in Hesse was the conversion of the Landgrave, who was regarded as one of the outstanding rulers of Germany. In 1521 Philip had attended the Diet of Worms where he disclosed his favourable interest in the activities of Luther by his remark, "Habt Ihr Recht, Herr Doktor, so helfe Euch Gott." (8) Philip was a student of the Bible. He read the writings of Luther and also those of Melanchthon whom he met at Heidelberg in 1524. As a result of this meeting, which offered an opportunity to discuss the perplexing religious problem, Melanchthon prepared and sent to the Landgrave the pamphlet entitled, "Epitome Renovatae Ecclesiasticae Doctrinae." Despite the efforts of his mother and of Nicolaus Ferber, the Guardian of the Franciscan Order at Marburg, the Landgrave decided to espouse the Reformation. At a gathering of princes in March, 1525 Philip declared that he would rather sacrifice "Land und Leute, Gut und Blut" than forsake the revealed truth. (9)

(7) The friendship between Kraft and Melanchthon became intimate. Melanchthon visited his friend in Fulda; he also accompanied Kraft to the Diet of Speyer in 1526.

(8) Denhard, Bernhard, op. cit. p. 85

(9) Ibid, p. 110.

A champion for the Reformation, the Landgrave was accompanied by a delegation composed of two hundred Hessians when he attended the Diet of Speyer in June, 1526. (10) At this convocation it was resolved that each state should live and rule as it hoped to answer for its conduct to God and the Emperor. With this decision the principle, "cuius regio eius religio," which became the watchword of the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, was practically adopted. Philip and the other rulers of Germany were permitted to conserve the accepted religious status or to institute whatever changes they felt constrained to effect. Accordingly, the Hessian Landgrave made plans to bring about the transformations which were thought necessary to reestablish the churches of his domain upon evangelical principles.

One of his first steps in this direction was to invite Francis Lambert to Hesse. Philip feared that his Court-Preacher, Adam Kraft, though he was a very able man, lacked the decisiveness to carry through a clear-cut program of ecclesiastical reformation. The task which was assigned to the newly appointed church leader was the preparation of a set of theses which should form the basis for the religious discussion at a forthcoming assembly of the clerical and civil leaders of Hesse. Lambert set to work in the Carmelite Cloister at Cassel. In three weeks he codified one hundred and forty-eight theological opinions which he arranged in twenty-three chapters. The work

(10) The Hessian delegation wore arm bands upon which the initials, V.D.M.I. Ae, (Verbum Dei Manet in Aeternum) had been inscribed.

bears the title, "Quae Fran. Lambertus Avenionensis apud sanctam Hessorum Synodum Hombergi congregatam pro Ecclesiarum reformatione e Dei verbo disputanda et deservienda proposuit."

Lambert, however, designated his findings "Paradoxa," feeling that this name would suggest that his premises were contrary to the generally accepted standards of faith.

Lambert's "Paradoxa" constitute an important portion of his theological equipment; and because they played such a prominent part in the discussions at Homberg, we have summarised them.

Chapter I. Introduction.

All that has been deformed must be reformed. What methods shall be used? The Word of God is the only criterion which indicates what has been corrupted and how errors can be corrected.

Chapter II. Who shall conduct the necessary reformation?

This task devolves upon the bishops, who are the servants of the Word, and the rulers who shall carry out with a strong hand what the spiritual leaders prescribe. In civil matters the clergymen shall be subject to the powers that be. (Romans 13:1)

Chapter III. Who is to judge in spiritual matters?

In this instance the power of decision falls upon the Church which shall act in accordance with the Word of God.

Chapter IV. Concerning the Congregation of God and the Synagogue of Satan.

The Church of God is the fellowship which is united

by one spirit, one faith, one baptism, one Lord, one Advocate and Mediator, and one Word through which alone the believers are sanctified and governed. The Church of God centres in the congregation. All who are not members of the fellowship of the church belong to the Synagogue of Satan (Revelation 2:9; 3:9).

Chapter V. The Keys of Christ and of His Church.

The Key of Christ is the power which He exercises in receiving believers into the church and also in excluding them from it. The Key of the Church is the authority with which she passes judgment according to God's Word. The Word is therefore the true key to the Kingdom of Heaven. All other keys such as decrees of councils and of popes and monastic rules are impotent.

Chapter VI. The True Priesthood.

God has ordained no other priesthood besides that of Melchizedek, Aaron and Christ. According to the priestly code Christ is the absolute high priest, and He requires no successors. He is the head of the church. Neither the Bishop of Rome nor any other bishop is eligible to become the high priest of the church, because the title and office belong solely to Christ. All who are true Christians are priests before God and they are privileged to become partakers of the Lord's anointing.

Chapter VII. The Eternal Sacrifice of the Church.

The constant crucifixion of the old self is the only true sacrifice which the faithful can make. The believers who mortify the flesh are members of the Christian priesthood.

Chapter VIII. The Lord's Supper.

It is a memorial of Christ's sacrifice and not a repetition of it. It is a thanksgiving for all that Christ

has done for His people. The reservation of the Host in closets as well as its distribution among the sick is to be condemned. The language used in the Communion service should be that of the people. The sacrifice of the Mass for the living and the dead is displeasing to God.

Chapter IX. The False and Fleshly Priesthood.

The priesthood whose members are composed of anointed and shaved persons is foreign to God; without doubt it is a fabrication of Satan. The test of the authentic priesthood is the Holy Bible.

Chapter X. Images and Pictures.

Images and pictures are permitted if they are not made objects of worship. If they are worshipped the rulers shall confiscate them and convert the gold, silver and precious stones out of which they have been made to the relief of the poor.

Chapter XI. The Duties of the Ministry.

There are two classes of ministers-bishops and deacons. The first duty of the bishops is to instruct the people in the Word of God and to administer the sacraments. Bishops and their families shall be supported by the congregations; the state shall avoid any possible delinquency in this respect. The ministers are not to become lords, rulers or lawgivers to their congregations. The primary task of the deacons is to assume responsibility for the distribution of alms among the unfortunate.

Chapter XII. Ungodly Celibacy and Holy Matrimony.

Genuine celibacy assumed in faith and truth is a

worthy undertaking; but when corruption sets in, it is in complete disagreement with the teachings of Christ. The estate of holy matrimony is sacred and pure. Monks and nuns should marry if they cannot remain continent.

Chapter XIII. Purgatory.

The hearts of men can be cleansed of sin only by the Holy Ghost through faith. Inasmuch as the church is the only institution in which this purification can be accomplished, the doctrine of purgatory is to be regarded as heretical.

Chapter XIV. Ceremonies.

According to Christ ceremonies, like gestures or other movements, employed to embellish or adorn sacred functions are inefficacious. In instances where they are not contrary to God's Word they may be retained to strengthen the weak brethren.

Chapter XV. The Consecration of Objects.

The heretical practice of consecrating water, bread, fruits, rosaries, robes and other objects is unholy and should be discontinued.

Chapter XVI. The Dedication of Churches and Altars.

The temple at Jerusalem was the only one erected according to the command of the Lord. The faithful are God's living temple. This is the true church for which the temple at Jerusalem is the model. The true altar is not made of stone; it is Christ. The genuine anointing likewise is not of oil, but of the Holy Spirit. The practice of dedicating churches, altars and cemeteries should be abrogated.

Chapter XVII. Concerning Burials.

It is unchristian to believe that obsequies assure righteousness for the deceased. To be interred in a consecrated cemetery does not bestow a spiritual blessing.

Chapter XVIII. The Profession of God's Name and Psalm-singing.

To profess the Name of God is to acknowledge the truth of His Word. In singing psalms the language of the people should be used.

Chapter XIX. Baptism.

Baptism is the initiatory rite through which persons are admitted into the fellowship of the church. The children of believers shall be baptised because they are not less capable of receiving the Holy Spirit than adults are. The only anointing that is essential in connection with baptism is that of the Holy Spirit.

Chapter XX. True and False Worship.

God is truly worshipped only by faith and the works which proceed from this attitude. Worship that is animated by human institutions is the work of Antichrist. The person who seeks to worship God aright approaches Him in accordance with His Word.

Chapter XXI. Intercession of Saints.

Jesus Christ is the only Advocate and Mediator. All good comes from God Who alone is the source of grace and glory. The saints, therefore, do not merit our worship. Saints cannot serve as mediators between God and man because intercession is made exclusively by Christ.

Chapter XXII. The Faithful and their Justification, Fruits and Freedom.

Justification is the product not of the historical faith, but of the faith which is expressed by trusting God. This faith is never without works which represent the fruits of the believer. Freedom is the deliverance from those obstacles which prevent us from serving God and our fellowmen. This freedom, however, does not absolve the faithful from obedience to the state. External works like fasting, abstinence from certain foods, special dress and so forth shall not be imposed upon the believer.

Chapter XXIII. Monasticism.

The Church of Christ recognises no orders inasmuch as she has been united in one Spirit, one God, one Mediator and one Word. For this reason monasticism has no place in the church, and the person who enters the monastic life separates himself from the church because he follows human agencies. This phase of religious life is not nurtured by Christian love; its vows are pernicious and must be rendered ineffective. The existence of this institution cannot be substantiated by a single iota of the Holy Scriptures. Realising that the character of monasticism is unchristian, the state should convert the cloisters into schools. The young monks can be profitably

employed, and the aged and infirm shall be provided for in Christian love. (11)

Such is the outline of the "Paradoxa" that Lambert prepared for the theological discussion which took place at Homberg, Germany in October, 1526. The foundation upon which the reforming activities were to be built, was the Holy Bible. All modes of worship and ecclesiastical usages which were contrary to the Scriptures were regarded as corruptions whose practice was to be discontinued. The underlying tone of the "Paradoxa" is polemical. The chief objects of Lambert's acrimonious assaults were institutions like the papacy, celibacy and monasticism as well as the perversions that accompanied them. In the succeeding section we shall note how Lambert fared at the Homberg Synod and how his "Paradoxa" were received.

- (11) Lambert's "Paradoxa" are found in:
- a. His own work which was printed in Erfurt, Germany, 1527.
 - b. Kirchmeier, "Dissert. theol. de Communionē ecclesiae corruptae vitenda," Marburg, 1527.
 - c. Hardt, "Historia Literaria Reform." V. pp. 98. ff.
 - d. Sculteti, "Annales evang. renov." pp. 14. ff.
 - e. Draud, "Lamberti epistola ad Colonienses," pp. 20. ff. Giessen, 1730.

b. The Synodical Assembly

After Lambert had completed his "Paradoxa" Philip planned definitely for the theological convocation which was to take place at Homberg. (1) This small city is situated about fifty miles southeast of Kassel at the juncture of the main thoroughfares from the Rhine, the Werra and the Main River valleys. (2) Philip had expressed his interest in this strategically located place by encouraging a trade in yarn, wool and linen. (3) It is celebrated, however, not as an industrial centre, but because the Landgrave selected it as the meeting place for the assembly which is known as the Homberg Synod of 1526.

The invitations to the synod were issued to two groups. On the sixth of October, 1526 Philip addressed the civil rulers, asking them to send the pastors in their districts to Homberg on the twentieth day of October (Samstag nach Galli). The second invitation, which was dated the tenth of October, 1526, was directed to the cloisters, whose superiors were the highest

- (1) Originally the city was called Hohenburg. It carried also various other names, -Hombergiam, Homburgum and Hombergan; it was commonly known, however, as Homberg. Francisci Lamberti "Epistola ad Colonienses", p. 20.
- (2) Heppe, Heinrich, "Kirchengeschichte beider Hessen," p.120. For additional information on Homberg see:
 - a. Landau, "Zeitschrift für hess. Geschichte," II, pp. 170-171; VI, p. 76; IX, p. 184
 - b. Diffenbach, "Archiv. für hess. Geschichte," IV.p.263.
 - c. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, "Correspondenz des Gesamtverein," 1874, p. 60.
- (3) Winkelmann, Johann Justus, "Gründliche und wahrhafte Beschreibung der Fürstümer Hessen und Hersfeld," p. 253.

ecclesiastical officials in Hesse. They were requested to appear in Homberg on Friday evening, the nineteenth of October, 1526 (Freitag-abends vor Samstag nach Galli). (4) Besides indicating the date when the various representatives should be present, the twenty-four year old Landgrave informed the delegates to the forthcoming synod that the purpose of the conference was to settle the dispute which had arisen in religious matters. He hoped that a harmonious agreement might be reached through an open discussion which was to be animated by the Grace of God and the Holy Scriptures. (5)

The synod convened in Saint Mary's Church which occupies a commanding position in this medieval city. (6) The first session was held on Saturday, the twentieth of October, 1526. (7)

- (4) Credner, Karl August, "Philipp's des Grossmüthigen Hessische Kirchenreformationen-Ordnung," p. LXXXV. The invitations to the Synod are printed in Heppe, Heinrich, op. cit. p. 150. See also Lambert's "Epistola ad Colonienses", p. 19.
- (5) The Landgrave is likened to Constantine who called the Council of Nicaea. See Draudii, Georgii Clem., Edition of Francisci Lamberti Avenionensis "Epistola ad Colonienses." p. 23.
- (6) The church was built in 1330. It has a seating capacity of 2,000. In the chancel there is a window which commemorates the Homberg Synod. The figure of Lambert appears in the left panel.
- (7) The date for the Homberg Synod has been a matter of dispute. Hassencamp, F.W., "Hessische Kirchengeschichte," I, p. 82, suggests October 26th. Lambert in his "Epistola ad Colonienses" gives the same date, while Ferber placed the date as "XII kal. Novembris", Schmitt, Wilhelm, in "Die Homberg Synode und ihre Vorgeschichte," pp. 69-70, contends for "Sonntag, den 21 Oktober" as the opening date. We have accepted 20th October for two reasons: the majority of delegates had been asked to appear in Homberg on this day; and the title of the "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae," 1526 states that the synod met on the 20th October (die XX Octobris), Richter Aemilius Ludwig, "Die Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts," p. 56.

The proceedings were begun at seven o'clock in the morning in the presence of the Landgrave, Chancellor John Feige, prelates and priests, nobles, knights and representatives of the constituent districts. Lambert described the body as a great multitude which had come from every district of Hesse (*convenit ingens ex omni Hassia multitudo et ex universis statibus*). (8) The conference was formally opened with an address by Chancellor Feige who called attention to the rupture which had appeared in the German Church. In this controversy one party alleged that the churchmen had beclouded the genuine teachings of Holy Scripture; the other section clung to the established order of religion and would not admit that the fathers were guilty of incorrect instruction. Continuing, the Chancellor cited the example of the Apostolic Church which called a conference when a dispute had developed within its fold. Pursuant to this practice a number of German rulers had gathered in Speyer where it was decided that each state should determine its own religious status in accordance with its responsibility to God and the Kaiser. Subsequent to this action the Landgrave had called this conference. The Chancellor further stated that at the request of Philip, Francis Lambert had prepared a set of propositions which should form the basis for the discussions. The theses had been attached to the church door, and they had been translated into German by Adam Kraft. If any of the commissioners disagreed with these findings, they should be permitted to present their own views,

(8) Lambert's "Epistola ad Colonienses," p. 21.

since it was not the desire of the Ruler to compel the acceptance of any religious opinions. The Chancellor concluded the opening address by expressing the hope that an acceptable doctrine and an efficient church polity would be formulated.(9)

After this speech Francis Lambert was asked by the Landgrave to explain the theses which he had prepared. For more than two hours he continued to elucidate the various propositions, which he substantiated by quoting striking and appropriate passages from the Holy Scriptures. (10) Following this explanation a deep calm prevailed during which many eyes were turned expectantly to the defenders of the old faith. At this point Nicolaus Ferber, the Guardian of the Franciscan Order at Marburg, came forward. (11) He requested permission to present a reply to Lambert's theses at the next day's sessions, and his wish was readily granted by Landgrave Philip. Before the proceedings of the first day were concluded, Adam Kraft summarised the important points of the "Paradoxa" for the benefit of those persons who might have experienced difficulty in understanding Lambert's explanation in Latin.

(9) The address has been printed in Heppe, Heinrich, op.cit. pp. 155-156. A slightly different version appears in Rommel, Christoph, "Geschichte von Hessen," III, pp. 330-331.

(10) Lambert's "Epistola ad Colonienses," p. 24.

(11) Nicolaus Ferber was also known as Nicolaus Herborn because he was born in Herborn. See Nebe, August, "Nikolaus Herborn-Denkschrift des königlich Preussischen evangelisch-theologischen Seminars zu Herborn für das Jahr, 1868," p. 2.

The Second Day's Sessions

The second day's sessions witnessed an amazing struggle between the new religious movement and the old order. After the opening of the conference at seven o'clock in the morning, Lambert invited any one, and particularly Ferber, to attack frankly and fearlessly the propositions which he had presented on the previous day. In response Ferber began his reply by suggesting that this was neither the place nor the assembly where his answer should be given. Despite this (feigned) handicap, the Franciscan spoke for more than two hours on various items. When he attempted to defend the sacrifice of the Mass by quoting from Augustine and Peter Lombard, Lambert could restrain himself no longer. He interrupted the speaker and contended that the Mass could not be regarded as an offering because Christ performed the supreme sacrifice once and for all time. The reference to the scholastics provoked the admonition from Philip, that Ferber should quote only from Biblical sources. Turning to the Landgrave the Guardian entreated him that he should effect no changes in the Hessian Church unless they were made in accordance with the findings of a regularly constituted council. To Lambert's "Paradoxa" Ferber added, he did not care to make any special rebuttal. Instead, Ferber announced his intention to prepare propositions supporting the established order; and if he was not able to defend them he was willing to have his "body cut into a thousand pieces." Reiterating that this was not the place for a religious discussion, he closed his long drawn out speech.

At this point the Chancellor reminded Ferber that the conference had been called by Philip for the purpose of ascertaining from the Scriptures how the Hessian Church should be reformed. Ferber remained silent. When the Landgrave asked him, if he wished to propose anything from the standpoint of the Bible in opposition to Lambert's theses, he replied that he preferred to discuss the matter before competent judges. Then Ferber attacked the recent Diet of Speyer and hurled invectives even against the Landgrave. To this assault Philip rejoined that in matters of faith the Word of God was the only judge. He added that he would forgive the Guardian for his insulting remarks and that he would be pleased to hear whatever Ferber wished to present further on the subject of church reform.

Encouraged no doubt by the graciousness of the Ruler, Ferber presented his anti-theses. In opposition to Lambert's claim that it was vain to attempt a reformation of the Hessian Church upon a basis other than the Holy Bible, the Guardian reminded the synod that Christ and the Apostles reformed the whole church, indeed the world, without a Gospel, -even before the Gospel had been committed to writing. With respect to the Mass which Lambert declared unchristian, the Franciscan maintained that it were better for priests to read no Masses than to reduce them to the language of the people. To do so would be contrary to the form, faith and intention of the Roman Church; it would be an empty figment, an abomination to the holy ordinances. Refuting Lambert's fiery denunciation of monasticism, Ferber asserted that the Lutheran doctrines were

scandalous and that monasticism was substantiated by the whole body of the Scriptures.(12)

Upon the completion of the Guardian's speech, the opportunity was afforded to Lambert for rebuttal. He gathered his material around three main points. In the first place, he maintained that Ferber's allegations were not grounded upon the Word of God but solely upon the opinions of man. In the second item, he replied to Ferber's philippic on the subject of monasticism. In defiance Lambert declared that he was willing to die if any one could prove from the Word of God that a person who assumed the monastic life did not forsake the Christian faith. In the third instance, he contended that Ferber did not understand the reference to Melchizedek, who was a type of Christ. Ferber was further accused of asserting before the whole assembly that Lambert denied the divinity of Christ. In defence of his position Lambert averred that Christ appeared on earth as God and man and that He was the only begotten Son of God. Throwing out the daring challenge that he was willing to dispute against the whole array of Roman defenders through reliance upon the Word of God, Lambert asked Ferber, if he wished to controvert any points which he had emphasised. The Guardian reiterated that this was neither the time nor the place for a refutation. This evasion gave

(12) Ferber's replies have been published under the title "Assertiones trecentae ac viginti sex Nicolai Herbornensis, Guardiani Marburgensis, verae orthodoxae adversus Fr. Lambertii, exiticii Monachi, paradoxa impia ac erroris plena in Hombergiana Hessorum congregatione proposita, ac plus quam haereticissime deducta et exposita, Colon., 1526."

Lambert an opportunity to resume his diatribe in which he succeeded in making the position of his opponent even more uncomfortable. Concluding, Lambert exhorted Ferber to conversion, crying out, "Woe be unto you! Woe be unto you! unless you repent. The Hand of God shall come upon you and crush you. Our whole church is praying lest you may be lost, eternally destroyed. Amen".(13) With this fearless address the morning session of the second day was brought to a close; the discussion had continued for five hours.

While Lambert was partaking of the midday meal he received a letter which contained three requests that were submitted in the Name of the Church. According to the first, Ferber was asked to present a set of theses based upon the Scriptures and Lambert was to reply to them. In the second place, if this was not feasible the Guardian should concentrate his attack upon the propositions which Lambert had prepared for the debate. Thirdly, if Ferber would not consent to either of these plans, he should recall his deceitful writings through which he had done much harm to the church.

After the synod had reassembled Lambert announced to Ferber the desire of the delegates that he should seek to edify and improve the church which he had aggrieved. This gesture produced the first signs of weakening on the part of Ferber. He turned to the Landgrave and implored him by the

(13) Vae tibi! Vae tibi! si non resipueris. Veniet enim super te manus Dei, & conteret te. Tota ecclesia nostra orat pro te, ne cum perditus sis, perpetuo desperaris. Amen. Lambert's "Epistola ad Colonienses." p. 39.

Blood and Death of Christ and the Day of Judgment that Philip should compel him neither to answer nor to act contrarily to his own conscience. To this Lambert rejoined, "Why did you insult the Church of God? Why do you hesitate either to substantiate your beliefs through the Word of God, or to contest mine upon the same basis?" (14) The Guardian did not give an answer. Furthermore, he refused to comply with the wishes of the assembly, declaring that he had come to give counsel, and not to dispute, and that he was not guilty of committing an injustice against the church. At this juncture Chancellor Feige intervened; he entreated Ferber to defend his position lest he incur the ill-will of the conference. The Franciscan remained obstinate pleading, however, that he should not be forced to accept any items which were foreign to his creed. The Landgrave next approached the Guardian with the request that he should submit whatever sound doctrines he possessed so that the cause of the church might be improved. The defender of the old faith was confounded. Through his silence he attested to his defeat. With victory in sight Lambert cried out several times, "If there is any one who believes that my theses contain anything that is contrary to the Word of God, let him refute what appears to be a perversion." When no one accepted Lambert's bold challenge he shouted, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel for he has visited and redeemed his people."

(Luke 1:68) (15) With this ejaculation the second day's

(14) Ibid. p. 41.

(15) Ibid. pp. 42-43.

sessions were concluded. It was a day in which an intense struggle had been waged between the old and the new. The evangelical cause was gradually claiming the mastery.(16)

The Third Day's Sessions

At the sessions which were held on the third day of the synod, the twenty-second of October, 1526, a new participant in the discussions appeared somewhat unexpectedly. He was John Sperber, who was pastor at Waldau near Kassel. He attempted to defend the Roman doctrines of faith and of the intercession of the Virgin Mary. Addressing Philip directly he urged him not to allow the evangelical mysteries to be revealed to the laity, especially not to the peasants. To these requests the Landgrave replied by quoting from Habakkuk 2:4 that the just shall live by faith; and by reminding the preacher that there is only one Mediator, Jesus Christ, between God and man (I Timothy 2:5). With reference to withholding the Gospel from the common people, Philip retorted that the Gospel should be preached to all creatures according to St. Paul's injunction to the Colossians (Colossians 1:23). This telling rebuttal of the Landgrave struck the decisive blow. With it the champions of the old order of religion/^{were}vanquished. The way was now open for the

- (16) At this point Ferber retired from the synod. He probably went to Cologne where he published his assertions against Lambert. Additional writings denouncing Lambert appeared from Werl near Cologne. Ferber's most important work against Lambert appeared in 1529. He finally wandered to Spain where he died. His life has been characterised in these words, "Er hat sein Leben an seine Liebe gesetzt und der Eifer für das Haus des Herrn hat ihn gefressen." Nebe, August op. cit. p. 37.

steps which were necessary for the reformation of the Hessian Church. Accordingly, a commission which was headed by Francis Lambert and Adam Kraft, was appointed to formulate a plan for church reform in accordance with the Word of God and Lambert's "Paradoxa." With this action the Homberg Synod of 1526 was brought to a close.(17)

Various estimates have been made of the convocation. To Lambert it was a synod sacred, venerable and Christian, and worthy of imitation on the part of all districts. To his opponent, Ferber, it was a gathering (conventus), at most a congregation (congregatio); now and then he referred to it as a coercive synod (synodus coacta) and once as a tragedy (tragoedia). It has also been claimed that the spirit of faith was lacking in the transactions at Homberg, and that the synod was not opened with a religious service. (18) Whatever reactions, favourable or unfavourable, the gathering at Homberg may evoke, it must be remembered that it represented an early attempt to reform a section of the German Christian Church upon Biblical and territorial lines. Despite the

(17) Lambert writes, "Conclusa igitur fuit venerabilis Synodus electis prius non nullis, qui ex verbo Domini definirent quae in universis Hessorum ecclesiis reformanda erant." "Epistola ad Colonienses," p. 43. The Epistola is practically the only source for the proceedings of the Homberg Synod. Because it contains Lambert's own conception there is a possibility that the report is not unfavourable to him. It is interesting to note on page 45 that Lambert denies the accusation that he shouted at Ferber, "Occidatur illa bestia, occidatur hostis verbi Dei." The official synodical records which were made by regularly appointed secretaries were lost.

(18) Vilmar, A.F.C., "Geschichte des Confessionstandes evangelischen Kirche in Hessen, besonders in Hessen-Kassel," p. 9.

vehemence and vituperation which were occasionally displayed, especially by Ferber and Lambert, the synod portrayed an honest effort on the part of an enterprising ruler to devise a more efficient policy for the churches of his domain. The presence of civil and clerical authorities from the various sections of Hesse manifested the democratic character of the conference. (It was no doubt more democratic than the Wittenberg theologians would have approved.) The Homberg Synod was also a tangible endeavour to abrogate the Pope and the Roman Curia as the agents, who were responsible for the welfare of the Church of God, and to replace these powers with the Holy Scriptures as the sole rule of faith and order for the Christian Church upon earth. Finally, the discussions at the Homberg Synod and the "Paradoxa" which had been prepared for the deliberations, supplied, in the main, the ideas which were incorporated into the "Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae" of 1526.

2. The Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae, 1526.

The commission which had been appointed at the concluding session of the Homberg Synod completed the first portion of its work in three days. During this period Lambert and his collaborators had drafted the outline which was to form the basis for the reconstructed church polity of Hesse. After this sketch had received the approval of the Landgrave, it was developed into the "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae juxta certissimam sermonum Dei regulam ordinata in venerabili synodo per Clementissimum Hessorum principem Philippum anno MDXXVI die Octobris Hombergi celebrata, cui ipsemet princeps Illustrissimus interfuit". (1) A summary of the "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae", as the document is generally known, follows:

In the introduction the framers of the Homberg Church Order expressed their gratitude and joy for the rediscovery of the light of eternal truth. This eternal truth is the Word of God which shall provide the foundation for the reformed church of Hesse, inasmuch as the Holy Bible is the only certain rule of faith.

Chapter I. True Worship.

In all the churches of Hesse God is to be worshipped in the purest manner according to the Word of His eternal truth,

(1) The "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae" has been printed in:

- a. Schminke, Friedrich Christoph, "Monimenta Hassiaca," II, pp. 588-656.
- b. Richter, Aemilius L., "Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts," pp. 56-69.
- c. Credner, Karl August, "Philipp's des Grossmütigen Hessische Kirchenreformations-Ordnung," pp. 1-121.

and all forms which are not conformable to this standard shall be abrogated. The root of an acceptable approach to God is faith which manifests itself in works that are consistent with the Word of God and thus are honourable in His sight.

Chapter II. Church Government.

The Word of God is the basis of the church polity which controls the government of the Hessian Church. In the churches the bishops (pastors) shall instruct the believers in the Sacred Scriptures, and whoever introduces any other means by which salvation may be attained, shall be deposed and suspended from Communion (*deponatur et communione privetur*).

Chapters III and IV. The Holy Communion.

The bishops shall celebrate the Holy Communion every Sunday, and it shall be administered in both kinds as the Scriptures prescribe and as the Sacrament was instituted by Jesus Christ. The communicants shall examine themselves and if they find troubled consciences they may make confession to the bishop or a responsible church official, to whom notice of the intention to communicate must be given. A public confessional service in the vernacular is also arranged for in connection with the celebration of the Communion.

The Lord's Supper is not to be conceived of as a sacrifice of the Mass; it is not a repetition which can be performed for the living and the dead but a thanksgiving for all that Christ has done for His people. It is also to be regarded as a sign of the fellowship of all believers, since all the faithful recognise Jesus Christ as their spiritual head.

Because Christ is the only intercessor and mediator the practice of praying to the saints is forbidden in connection with the celebration of the Eucharist. In the elements of the Sacrament Christ is present as God and man not as a result of earnest supplications, as some claim, but according to the declaration of the living God as He has revealed Himself in His Word.

During the Communion service candles may be lit, but all other altar decorations as well as priestly vestments, with the exception of the surplice, shall be discontinued. The language of the Communion liturgy shall be the vernacular; for the Kyrie Eleison, Hallelujah, Hosanna, and Sabaoth, however, the Latin forms of the ancient words may be retained. The organ shall not be played - or at least only in very rare instances. The church bell may be rung to announce the Communion and other services. The practice of reserving the Host and carrying it through the streets to the sick and infirm is forbidden.

Chapter V. Morning and Evening Worship.

With reference to services other than the celebration of the Holy Communion the Reformatio arranges for daily morning and evening services at which the language of the people shall be used. These services are to be conducted in the middle of the church (*medio ecclesiae*) rather than in the chancel (*in choro*). The order of service shall consist of psalm singing, Scripture reading, prayers and a sermon. At the morning worship the bishop shall read and preach from the Old Testament in a consecutive manner while at the evening service the basis

for exhortation and edification is to be the New Testament.

Chapter VI. Confession.

In place of the received custom of auricular confession to a priest, confession of sins shall be made privately to God. An opportunity for public confession, however, is given in connection with the celebration of the Eucharist. In the event of strife between members of the household of faith reconciliation shall be sought in accordance with James 5:16, "Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." When harmony has been restored in such exigencies, the bishop or a pious layman shall repeat the words which Matthew 9:2 enjoins, "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee."

Chapter VII. Fasting.

Bishops are not allowed to prescribe fast days because good works are the product of faith. Should circumstances arise, however, that seem to denote the necessity for a fast the civil rulers, upon the counsel of the church leaders, may appoint a day for prayer and fasting, but it shall not be made mandatory. Likewise, an individual congregation may declare a day of fast but it must not be made compulsory upon the members thereof.

Chapter VIII. Festival and Commemorative Days.

Only those occasions which are pertinent to the mysteries of redemption may be celebrated. These include Christmas, the Circumcision, the Presentation in the Temple, the Annunciation, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday and the

Visitation of the Virgin. These days are to be marked with services which begin with early morning worship with a sermon in the place of the early Mass. A Communion service at which a sermon is preached shall follow. Two hours after the administration of the Lord's Supper, vespers shall be conducted, at which service a sermon based on a New Testament text shall be delivered and the Magnificat sung. The anniversaries of St. John the Baptist, the Holy Apostles, the Evangelists, the First Martyrs and the Blessed Stephen may be observed at the daily morning and evening services with an appropriate sermon. All labour shall be suspended on these special days. The visitation of the sick and the unfortunate is encouraged. The custom of dedicating church buildings shall be discontinued because the temple which is acceptable to God is not made of stones but it is the living temple of sanctified souls. Church edifices which have heretofore been known as temples shall be renamed as church houses of this town or parish (*domus ecclesiae talis oppidi vel pagi*). (2)

Chapters IX and X. Images, Pictures and Consecrated Objects.

All images and pictures which have been placed into churches and at cross-roads, as well as way-side shrines, shall be removed because worshipping such objects is contrary to the Word of God. Church altars are to be replaced with tables. These removals are to be summarily executed by the state and the church after a period of instruction has been provided by the bishops. Into the same category of heretical practices

(2) Credner, op. cit. p. 15.

the Homberg Church Order places the consecration of bread, wine, water, salt and fruit.

Chapter XI. Concerning Baptism.

The application of oil in connection with baptism is to be dispensed with; instead, the anointing with the Spirit of Christ is to be sought. In the Name of the Lord, no one dare prevent the baptism of the children of believers, and those who attempt to prohibit pedobaptism shall be suspended from Communion (*communione privetur*). (3) A second baptism can not be tolerated; an emergency baptism performed by a nurse or some other responsible person is, however, to be regarded as valid. If doubt arises concerning the correctness of the baptismal formula persons may be rebaptised using the form, "If thou hast not been baptised, I baptise thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Chapter XII. Visitation of the Sick.

The bishop accompanied by several elders (*senioribus*) shall call upon the sick who are to be comforted in their afflictions by the Word of God and prayer. The congregation is to be constantly reminded of its Christian duty to visit the sick and succour the needy. The deacons are directly responsible for the distribution of worldly goods to the poor and to the distressed.

Chapter XIII. Burial Ceremonies.

Burials within walls (*claustris*) are not to be permitted. (4) Following the example of Abraham and the patriarchs

- (3) This was undoubtedly a stroke at the Anabaptists whose influence had also reached Hesse. During Lambert's sojourn in Strasbourg he had come into contact with their teachings.
- (4) A similar proscription is found in the "First Book of Discipline," (Scottish) Chapter XIV. p. 598

persons may be interred wherever their families may arrange. Because many believers do not possess private burial grounds the congregations shall provide cemeteries upon which all who are not excommunicated may be laid to rest. The bishop shall officiate in the language of the people, although Latin is not forbidden in those instances where all present have a knowledge of it. In the bishop's ministrations, which shall include a sermon, all references to the doctrine of purgatory must be omitted, and if he persists in transgressing this ordinance he shall suffer deposition.

Chapter XIV. Concerning Holy Matrimony.

Persons including bishops, monks and nuns, who can not remain continent, may marry in accordance with I Corinthians 7:1 ff. Those wishing to enter the matrimonial state are to give due notice to the bishop who shall announce their intention to the congregation. If no one shows just cause from God's Word why the union should not be consummated, the marriage ceremony shall be performed. In connection with the wedding festivities no frivolity making light of the holy estate shall be allowed. Should any person cast aside his wife and take another he shall be suspended from Communion (communione privetur). The second union is to be dissolved and the offending person shall return to the first helpmeet. Family difficulties should be settled by the bishop and the visitors according to the teachings of the Holy Scriptures.

Chapter XV. Concerning the weekly meetings of the congregation.

This conventus fidelium (5) is to be called for disciplinary purposes (Matthew 18:15-17), for conducting elections for bishops and church officers, and the prosecution of other transactions which fall within the province of God's Word. These business sessions may be attended by persons who are members in full standing (in Sanctorum numero habentur). (6) Women may be present but they are not permitted to speak. (I Corinthians 14:34). Only male members shall have the right to vote. Pursuant to I Corinthians 5:9 ff. and II John 10-11, prostitutes, drunkards, adulterers, robbers, slanderers and heretics shall be admonished by the bishops, and if they show no signs of repentance at the expiration of a fortnight, they shall be excommunicated until they have forsaken their wicked ways. During this period they shall neither be admitted to the Table of the Lord nor be regarded as brethren. All rashness, however, in executing discipline is to be prevented; repeated efforts shall be made to bring about amendment and the punishment must be applied with a view to the salvation of the wrongdoer.

To assure a high degree of effectiveness in conducting the temporal affairs of the congregation and to demand an acceptable standard of ethical living, the Reformatio gives instructions which set forth the method by which the reformed congregations shall be constituted. Upon the expiration of a certain period of time during which the Word of God is to be

(5) Credner, op. cit. p. 20.

(6) Ibid.

preached to all who are inclined to hear it, the bishop shall ask each person if he wishes to live according to God's Word and be admitted into the fellowship of the church. Then the names are recorded of those who signify their intention to pursue such a manner of life and to become members of the church. Individuals guilty of moral laxity are given a respite of three weeks to amend their ways, and if no signs of repentance are manifested, they shall be regarded as heathen and not numbered with the brethren.

Chapter XVI. Excommunication.

In order to retain the high standard of ethics which God's Word requires and to prevent the weak brethren from falling deeper into degradation, a strict surveillance must be maintained. Against known adulterers, prostitutes, and others who are guilty of equally heinous social disorders, the power of excommunication shall be exercised. The formal excommunication shall take place, as was indicated in the previous chapter, fourteen days after the offender has been warned of his errors. With the formal public naming of the person who has violated the rules of Christian morality, he shall be declared excommunicated so that the believers may know whom they should avoid.

Whenever specific violations of the moral code are not generally known the method of procedure shall be in accordance with Matthew 18:15, and if these admonitions to repentance produce no results, the offender is to be dealt with at the regularly constituted assembly of the congregation. No persons shall be excommunicated because of infringements of the secular

law but such circumstances are to be brought by the congregation to the attention of their Christian rulers. The believer shall not eat, drink, nor participate in any social function with excommunicated persons; he is allowed, however, to buy from and sell to them, which transactions are to be limited strictly to business. Persistent unrestrained relationships with those who have been excommunicated deprive the believer of the privilege of communicating, and in the case of bishops such transgressions entail deposition. (7)

Chapter XVII. The Absolution of the Penitent.

After the penitent has confessed his sins in the presence of the congregation, his absolution is announced by the bishop. If the person seeking to be absolved is unable to attend a meeting of the congregation he may despatch a representative. In such an instance the congregation will send its delegates to pronounce the absolution and admonish the evildoer against a repetition of his misdeeds. No believer dare slander a penitent upon pain of excommunication.

Chapter XVIII. The Annual Synod.

A synod for the purpose of determining the policy of the entire Hessian Church shall convene annually on the Third Sunday after Easter in the city of Marburg. While this date is to be generally regarded as fixed the ruler of Hesse may appoint

(7) The Reformatio provides for a double ban. Excommunicatio means expulsion from the congregation; communione privetur denotes prohibition from the Lord's Table. Wilhelm Maurer in his "Franz Lambert von Avignon und das Verfassungsideal der Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae von 1526," page 241, refers to these as "den grossen Bann und den kleinen Bann."

another day for the yearly gathering. The synod is to be composed of rulers, the bishops, who may be excused for good reasons, and congregational commissioners who shall be men known for their faith and piety. The deliberations of the conference are to commence at five o'clock in the morning and are scheduled to cover a period of three days.

One of the first acts of the annual gathering shall be the election of a Council of Thirteen, which is to be composed of men fervent in faith and of good report. Upon this body devolves the responsibility of arranging for the business of the annual synodal assembly and of transacting, with the assistance of the visitors in the interval between yearly meetings, the routine business and such other matters as can not be deferred to the next regular convention. The members of the executive board are to be elected by the Landgrave, nobles and lords, if they are in attendance and desire to vote, and by the bishops and their lay delegates who are present. The commission shall meet at a regularly appointed place to receive the proper credentials of the lay representatives and to study the congregational reports. Its findings are to be presented to the synod for discussion and disposition^{al}, in which deliberation the Word of God shall be the standard of order.

The Council of Thirteen shall settle complaints lodged by congregations against clergymen (visitor, bishop or assistant) for irregularities in office or for moral laxity. If the charges preferred can be sustained, the person accused is to be deposed and his successor chosen. At the expiration of the

sentence which covers a year the disqualified bishop can be restored to his regular status and he is again eligible for a pastorate.

The executive board shall also receive reports on the visitors who are accountable for exemplary conduct, fidelity to God's Word and unstinted service to the congregations. For a misdemeanour the guilty visitor is to be deprived of the fellowship of the brethren and declared an inefficient office-bearer unworthy of the holy calling. A deposed visitor can not be reinstated but he can be reappointed as a bishop, if the synod sees fit.

During the annual convention two preaching services are to be held daily as arranged for by the president of the Commission of Thirteen. At the opening service, which may be conducted in Latin, the newly elected executive board is to be installed. After the transaction of the business of the convention, the synod shall be closed with a service in which the vernacular is used. In the sermon the minister is to call attention to whatever resolutions have been adopted, admonish against false prophets and announce the names of those who have been excommunicated as well as those who have been absolved. With the prayers for the health and prosperity of the church and an appropriate benediction the annual meeting shall be concluded.

Chapter XIX. The Election and Removal of Visitors and the Commission of Thirteen.

In the event of the death of a visitor or a member of

the Commission of Thirteen his successor shall be elected from the congregation of the synodal-city, Marburg. If any one of these office-bearers is found guilty of adultery, fornication, intemperance or bribery, his misdemeanour shall be reported to the authorities at Marburg by the aggrieved congregation. The sinner is to be deprived of the fellowship of the church and if the offender is a bishop his dismissal shall follow. Upon repentance he may be readmitted to the ecclesiastical fellowship, but he can not be reelected to the office of a visitor or to the Council of Thirteen; a bishop, however, can be reinstated by the synod.

Chapter XX. Concerning Elections.

All elections in the Hessian Churches are to be conducted by committees of three persons who shall make an accurate tally of the results. The membership of these responsible groups shall be as follows: at the election of a bishop three bishops shall preside; for the visitors, the three highest officers of the Commission of Thirteen; and for deacons and representatives to the synod, a bishop and two elders.

Chapter XXI. Installation of Church Officers.

The various church officers are to be inducted into their respective functions through the laying on of hands and appropriate prayers.

Chapter XXII. The Visitors and their Offices.

In accordance with the practice of Jehoshaphat, as recorded in II Chronicles 17: 6-9, three visitors are to be

elected by the synod. Their chief duty shall be the visitation of the congregations in order to inspect the work of the bishops and to advise the congregations and their leaders in the proper ministration of spiritual matters. Unworthy ministers must be reported to the headquarters of the synod at Marburg whose authorities shall take steps to replace them with more efficient servants of God. The visitors must conduct their inspection with strictness, frowning upon any display of daintiness to obtain their good graces; likewise, all attempts to bribe them must be deprecated.

Chapter XXIII. Concerning the Election, Ordination and Support of Bishops. (8)

The congregation has the right to elect and dismiss its bishop. The act of ordination is to be performed in the presence of the congregation to which the bishop has been elected. The support of bishops shall be assumed by the congregations who are to make it possible for their spiritual leaders and their families to live in reasonable circumstances; the pastor, however, shall not expect perquisites. It shall also be the duty of the congregations to maintain retired ministers and especially those aged servants of the church who have rendered laudable service. Small parishes unable to provide for their bishops may be united at the discretion of the ruler of Hesse.

- (8) By bishop Lambert means pastor or minister. Ille ergo verus Ecclesiae Christi Episcopus, qui illam solícite visitat, illiq; vigilanter superintendit, & pro accepto a Deo munere, eidem modis omnibus auxiliatur, quales sunt, omnes qui verbum Domini sincere & fideliter administrat. Chapter XV, "In Minoritarum Regulam Commentarij Francisci Lamberti Avenionensis."

Bishops who give offence to their parishioners by sensuality, ostentation and frivolity, as well as those who forsake their congregations in the time of a plague, must be dismissed from their office. Those who fulfil the requirements which St. Paul recounted in his injunctions to Timothy and Titus (I Timothy 3:2 ff and Titus 1:6ff) are to be sought earnestly by congregations desiring a bishop. Pious, learned and irreproachable men, whatever their previous occupation may have been (*cuiuscunque artis sint*) are eligible for election to the office of bishop. (9) Rulers, lords and magistrates are not acceptable for the holy calling because bishops are primarily servants. Spiritual leaders who disturb their congregations with new and strange doctrines shall be removed, since the church can tolerate only those pastors who preach the pure and genuine Word of God, lead a Christlike life and worthily serve the Church of God.

Chapter XXIV. The Diaconate.

Each congregation is empowered to elect an assistant who shall be inducted into office in the presence of the church group with prayer and the laying on of hands. In accordance with the counsel of St. Paul (I Timothy 3:8) the deacon, as the assistant is named, should be of excellent character. If the congregation is too small to support a deacon (ordinarily deacons are provided for) the office may be temporarily dispensed with or several congregations, formed into a parish, may call a deacon and maintain him conjointly.

(9) Credner, *op. cit.* p. 38.

Chapter XXV. Provision for the Poor.

Following the practice of the Acts of the Apostles (Chapter 6) at least three deacons besides the bishop's assistant shall be elected in every congregation. Their principal task shall consist of distributing daily among the poor what the members of the congregation have contributed for this purpose. To encourage giving for this cause alms-boxes are to be provided in the churches, and in addition special offerings shall be lifted at the Sunday morning and at Festival services. Ordinary sums may be applied by the deacons for the alleviation of the distressed but large gifts must be allocated at the discretion of the congregation.

Chapter XXVI. The Order of Precedence.

Inasmuch as those who strive for precedence do not have a place in the Church of Christ, all offences in this direction are punishable with the penalty of removal from office. For the sake of order and decency, however, the seating at the synodical sessions shall be arranged as follows: the Commission of Thirteen; visitors; bishops and their lay delegates who shall occupy places next to their pastors.

Chapter XXVII. Concerning the Unemployed, Vagrants and False Brethren.

Pursuant to St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Thessalonians (Chapter 3:10) where he exhorts that those who do not work shall not eat, able-bodied unemployed persons shall receive no charity. If members of the congregation are inclined to persist in idleness, they shall be compelled to work

by the deacons who are to procure situations for them. Vagrants and false brethren who wander from place to place are not to be made objects of charity; they shall be driven away from the congregation whose membership shall have no contact with them.

Chapter XXVIII. Concerning Strangers and Persecuted Brethren.

Since bearing a cross is a portion of the Word of God persecution can not be entirely prevented; consequently even true believers must occasionally turn fugitive. Because of the difficulty of distinguishing between true and false brethren, Christians should always be on their guard. Strangers who have proved themselves worthy shall be granted the hand of fellowship and they shall be sustained.

Chapter XXIX. The Curriculum of the Marburg University.

(This subject will be treated in the next section.)

Chapter XXX. Schools for Boys.

All congregations whether located in cities or villages shall open schools in which the rudiments and writing (*rudimenta et scribendi*) are to be taught to boys as a preparation for entrance into the University at Marburg. If it is impossible to arrange for the prescribed schools, the bishops or their assistants shall offer instruction in reading and writing. The teachers for these schools shall be elected by the congregations who are charged with the responsibility of choosing capable persons. In addition to a concern for the subjects formally taught, the instructors shall be solicitous for the general welfare and diligence of the pupils. The official visitors and the bishops

are to exercise supervision over the schools to assure the most helpful type of instruction. The religious element must not be neglected. At the morning and afternoon sessions one, two, or even three psalms may be sung in Latin; also, a chapter from the Old Testament is to be read in the forenoon, while the New Testament shall form the basis for the Scripture reading at the second period.

Chapter XXXI. Schools for Girls.

In addition to the schools for boys the congregations, wherever possible, shall provide instruction for the girls. The schools are to be in charge of pious, mature and educated women who shall teach the fundamentals of the Christian faith, reading and spinning as well as punctuality and industry, so that the girls may develop into competent housewives. The procedure which was prescribed for the schools for boys with reference to Scriptural reading is to be pursued in the case of the girls.

Chapter XXXII. Concerning Education for Poor Students.

Provided that sufficient funds are remaining subsequent to the establishment of the University at Marburg a number of free scholarships shall be made available for poor students. A residence is to be secured and the period of instruction in these instances shall cover three years. Students who obtain admission to this home under false pretences must be ejected as robbers of the substance of the poor.

Chapter XXXIII. Benefices.

Holders of benefices who attend the morning and evening prayers and partake of the Holy Communion as well as those who

study at the University of Marburg, may retain their privileges. Failure to conform to these demands exposes the offenders to punishment which is to be meted out at the weekly assemblies. Upon the death of the holders these prerogatives are to be used for purposes conformable to the Word of God.

Chapter XXXIV. Cloisters and Monks.

Inasmuch as monasticism is contrary to I Corinthians 7:23, entrance into a monastic house is forbidden to the young men and women of the congregations of Hesse. All monks and nuns shall be declared free because their vows are not consonant with the Word of God. Those, however, who refuse to abandon their monastic cell may remain, but their monkish religious exercises shall not be continued. When the cloisters have been vacated they shall be refurnished as schools, especially at Marburg; or they may be remodelled for congregational or public use.

In these several respects the churches of Hesse are to be reformed, which reformation shall be accomplished to the Glory of the Lord, Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and Holy Ghost shall be honor, praise, glory and power.

When the historian ponders over the problems which pertain to the origin of the "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae", he finds himself in an interesting field of study.(10)

- (10) Lambert was not the sole author of the Reformatio; the portion pertaining to the cultus shows the influence of Adam Kraft and the Deutsche Messe of Luther. See Ebert, Wilhelm, "Die Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Kurhessen," p.39. Hassencamp, F.W., "Hessische Kirchengeschichte seit dem Zeitalter der Reformation" bases the Reformatio on Luther-"Die Lehre und der Cultus der Homberger-Ordnung ist fast ganz luterisch," II, p.297. Göbel, Max, in his "Die Disciplin in den reformirten Kirche bis Calvin 1540," page 1, sees in the Reformatio "eine Wirkung und eine Verwirkung von Luthers in der Vorrede zur

With reference to the form of the Reformatio it will be remembered that Lambert prepared a series of one hundred and sixteen propositions for the theological debate which he intended to hold in Metz. These theses he enlarged at Strasbourg into his "Farrago Omnium Fere Rerum Theologicarum" which comprised three hundred and eighty-five items. These, in turn, formed the basis for the "Paradoxa" which Lambert formulated for the discussions which took place at the Homberg Synod, and the "Paradoxa" provided the fabric that was used in the preparation of the Reformatio.

When the problem is approached from the standpoint of content, it is found that the Homberg Church Order represents

Deutschen Messe ausgesprochen." Doctor E.L.Th. Henke who is biased against Lambert finds the origin of Lambert's conception of church government in William Farel who was pastor of the French refugees at Strasbourg while Lambert stayed there. This is disclaimed by Henri Heyer in his study entitled "Guillaume Farel, Essai sur le Développement de ses Idées Théologiques," -"Ces quelques mots exceptés, nous n'avons pas de renseignements sur les idées que se faisait alors (sic 1521-1536) l'auteur du Sommaire sur l'organisation de l'Eglise," p. 55. Richter, Aemilius L., in "Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenverfassung in Deutschland," page 39, states that the question of the origin of the Reformatio "ist neuerdings zu Gunsten der Waldenser beantwortet worden deren Lehre und Leben Lambert in seiner Heimat kennen gelernt haben soll." Köhler, Waltner, in "Die Entstehung der Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae von 1526," p. 211, finds "ihre Verfassungsbestimmungen auf dem Hintergrund der übrigen Schriften Lamberts," but this still leaves the student to account for the origin of Lambert's ideas. The author's theory of the origin of the Reformatio is set forth in the body of the dissertation.

in the main, the religious ideas which were commonly held in the reforming circles of the generation in which it was produced. Three main influences, however, are discernible; namely, Wittenberg, Strasbourg and Avignon. During Lambert's stay in Wittenberg, where he spent approximately thirteen months, he imbibed teachings like the real presence of Christ in the Holy Communion and the priesthood of believers. The conception of the Lord's Supper as a commemorative feast developed while Lambert was sojourning in Strasbourg. The democratic idea which constitutes an important factor of his church polity can be traced to the same source. The selection of the Thirteen as the executive commission for the Hessian Church recalls the fact that Lambert appeared before the Council of Thirteen in Metz when he sought the permission of the magistracy of that city to preach within its precincts; the city government of Strasbourg also had established a Council of Thirteen as one of the six councils which administered its affairs. (11) When it is claimed that Lambert derived certain ideas from Wittenberg and Strasbourg the inference must not be drawn that he reproduced them literally; but rather Lambert developed his distinctive beliefs by assimilating, in the matrix of his impulsive personality, his own religious background and what he had learned from Luther and Bucer. (12)

(11) Eells, Hastings, "Martin Bucer," pp. 19-20. The number thirteen may have been suggested also by Jesus and His twelve apostles.

(12) "Er hat dessen Gedanken aus ihrem ursprünglich Gefüge gelöst und in den Zug seiner Grundanschauungen eingeordnet". Maurer, Wilhelm, "Franz Lambert von Avignon und das Verfassungsideal der Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae von 1526", p. 238.

Another line of origin streams from Avignon. Here he first beheld the opulence and splendour of the Roman Church in the Palace of the Popes; and in the Franciscan monastery where he spent twenty years he became acquainted with the doctrines of the medieval church and the responses which they evoked on the part of the members of his order. The medievalism which Lambert imbibed during his monastic associations tempered and sharpened his dualistic conception of the church to the degree set forth in the Reformatio. His notion of excommunication is a Roman heritage, while the relation between church and state is a modified survival of the medieval teaching on this important aspect of the pre-Reformation life. The scheme for the annual synodical gathering probably arises from the example of the conciliar movement which endeavoured to determine the policy of the church by regularly constituted councils rather than by the artifices which were devised by the curia at Rome.

It is interesting to observe that Lambert's noble conception of faith as fiducia ("Paradoxa" XXII,I) has been displaced in the Reformatio by obedience which was the traditional interpretation. Like Luther, he deplored greatly the mechanical monastic regulations which prevailed in his generation; but unlike the German Reformer, when Lambert came to apply his own theological opinions to the problem before him, he tended to relapse into the system which had been ingrained into his spiritual nature. The really decisive quality of the Reformatio is manifested in the substitution of an infallible Bible for an infallible church. "Nur ist an die Stelle der Hierarchie der unfehlbare Bibelbuchstabe getreten," writes a

student of the Hessian Church. (13) The conception of the Bible, moreover, is *lex Christi*, which grounds the Homberg Church Order on legalism. (14)

Because the fundamental principle of the Reformatio is legalistic the question arises, What is the origin of the legalism which motivated Lambert? South Germany and Switzerland have been suggested as answers. When, however, one inquires into the basic theological idea of Huldreich Zwingli, who was the leader of the Swiss movement, it is found that he placed Christ before the Bible; He is the beginning and the end of the Bible. While Zwingli accepted the Catholic Canon he rejected the Apocalypse which he did not regard as an apostolic book and hence never used it for doctrinal purposes. (15) For Lambert the Bible, including the Apocalypse, which was one of his favourite books, received prime consideration; to him the Holy Scriptures were the infallible Word of God. Because of this difference of emphasis South Germany and Switzerland could not have supplied the kernel of the Reformatio.

In his article, "Homberg Synode und Kirchenordnung, 1526", Carl Mirbt has included the Bohemian movement as a possible root. (16) The Confession of Faith and Religion (Bohemian),

(13) Ibid, p. 249.

(14) "Der Kirchenbegriff der Homberg Reformationen Kirchenordnung ist ein Rechtsbegriff. Ihre Kirche kann rechtlich verfasst, kann Subjekt oder Objekt von Rechten sein", Friedrich, Julius, "Luther und Die Kirchenverfassung der Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae von 1526", pp. 10;30.

(15) Schaff, Philip, "History of the Swiss Reformation," I, p. 90.

(16) "Real Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche," VIII, p. 294.

which was prepared in 1508 for presentation to Ferdinand, King of the Romans and Bohemia at Vienna, lays stress upon the epistles and gospels, and it agrees with the Lutheran teaching on the Lord's Supper. (17) On the other hand, Lambert concerned himself chiefly with the Old Testament in his exegetical work, and he prescribed its use in preference to the New Testament in the church services and the schools for boys and girls. This inconsistency ^{discrepancy} compels the student to search elsewhere for the core of the Reformatio.

The Homberg Church Order has been traced by Johann Wilhelm Bickell to the Waldensian development. (18) Investigation of the Confession of Faith which was adopted at the Waldensian Synod of Angrogna December 12, 1532 shows a similarity of tenets to the Reformatio with respect to predestination, impotency of the human will, and marriage. This declaration of faith permits "swearing in the name of the Lord" (oaths), about which the Reformatio is silent. The treatment of the doctrine of confession in the Waldensian document is distinctly unlike Lambert's conception in that the Waldensian interpretation is based on the Gospels rather than on the Psalms and James. (19) The attempt to connect the Homberg Church Order with the Waldensians encounters the further practical problem of being compelled to account for the actual contacts between Lambert and this religious group. His life-story shows no such connections.

(17) Blair, Adam, "History of the Waldenses," II, pp.567 and 580.

(18) "Die Presbyterial-und Synodal- Verfassung der evangelische Kirche in ihrem Ursprunge und Einflusse auf Hesse," p.68.

(19) Blair, op. cit. p.594; see also Richter, Aemilius Ludwig, "Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenverfassung in Deutschland." p. 40.

It is incorrect to ground the Reformatio on Strasbourg because the doctrine of the church that flourished there urged the faithful to a diligent use of the Word of God, to the eager desire to acquaint themselves more intimately with its contents, and to the regular observance of the sacraments through which the spiritual life of the congregation is nurtured and preserved. In the opinion of Bucer the duties of the Christian ministers consisted in teaching and admonishing the believers and in supervising the temporal affairs of the church. (20) The religious society, as the Strasbourg Reformer conceived of it, sought the development of love among its members rather than the application of stern discipline upon them. (21)

Lambert's tenet of legalism, which is basic in his theology, supplies likewise the point of departure from Wittenberg. As early as 1520 Luther maintained that the "true, real, right, essential church is a spiritual thing and not anything external or outward by whatever name it may be called". (22) A system of church government founded upon legalism was for him inconsistent with the noblest teachings of the Bible, and for this reason a scheme of church reform of this type must be condemned.

(20) Bucerum, M., Enarratio in Evangelion Johannis, p.199a.
(from Maurer, Wilhelm, op. cit., p.239)

(21) Maurer, Wilhelm, Ibid., p. 240.

(22) "die naturliche, eigentlich, rechte, wesentliche Christenheit stehe um geiste, und in keinem eusserlichen ding, wie mag genennt werdenn"., "Vom Papsstum zu Rom wider den nochberühmten Romanisten zu Leipzig," D. Martin Luthers "Werke", Band VI, p.296, Weimar Edition.

Furthermore, in the pronounced idealism and radicalism of the Reformatio lurked its impracticability, for, to Luther the visible church was not a perfect organization but it was an institution in which a perfecting process should be at work. The execution of the Reformatio seemed to Luther to be beyond the spiritual comprehension of the Hessian citizens, many of whom did not possess the ability to read and write.

There remains the possibility of lodging the fundamental legalistic idea, which formed the keynote of the Reformatio, in the Franciscan tradition. To this influence Lambert was exposed as a boy, for his widowed mother entrusted his training to the Franciscan friars at Avignon. At the tender age of fifteen years he became a novice and spent twenty years of his life in their monastery. His formative years were passed under the dominance of a system in which implicit obedience was regarded as being of supreme importance. He was, moreover, a member of the Observant Franciscans who represented the stricter branch of the Order. It is also noteworthy that when Lambert could not find peace under the mechanical restraints of the Observants he sought a transfer to the Carthusians whose rule was characterised by solitude, silence, prayer and austerity. These regulations were even more stringent than the requirements of his own group in which poverty, obedience and charity were the cardinal objectives. Because Lambert's religious nature had been saturated with unquestioned authority during the most impressionable period of his life (from boyhood to his thirty-fifth year) we are led to the

conclusion that the legalistic principle, which pervades the Homberg Church Order, originated in the Franciscan tradition.(23)

That the Landgrave was not in complete agreement with the church policy which his reformer and the commission had produced is attested by subsequent events; he submitted a copy of the Reformatio to Wittenberg and asked Luther to give his opinion of the proposed line of reforming activities. Luther replied reluctantly to Philip's request because he feared that his criticisms of the Reformatio would leave the impression that the Wittenbergers were jealous of another's success. Writing on January 7, 1527 Luther condemned the Homberg Church Order severely. (24) He urged Philip to prohibit even the printing of Lambert's scheme because "such a pile of laws couched in such imperious terms can not be put into operation by us." (25) Calling the attention of the Landgrave to the divergence between prescription and accomplishment, Luther suggested that many alterations would have to be effected before the Reformatio

(23) Lambert bleibt, trotz aller Angleichung an die Ausdrucksweise der Reformatoren, im Grunde völlig im Mittelalter stecken. Maurer, Wilhelm, op. cit. p. 257.

(24) This letter is printed in:-

- a. Rohr's "Predigerbibliothek," 1832, p.362.
- b. Dewette, "Dr. Martin Luthers Briefe," VI, p.80.
- c. Enders, C.L., "Luthers Briefwechsel," VI, p.9.
- d. Credner, K.A., "Philipp's des Grossmüthigen Hessische Kirchenreformatoren-Ordnung," p.LXXXVIII-LXXXIX
- e. "D. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel," IV, p.157, #1071 Weimar Edition.

(25) "so ein hauffen gesetze mit so mechtigen Worten bei uns fürzunehmen," Credner, op. cit. p. LXXXIX.

could be put into practice. "To establish law is, indeed, a great, glorious and far-reaching matter but without the spirit of God nothing good will result therefrom", wrote Luther. (26) On the constructive side he advised that the initial step for the introduction of the Reformation into Hesse was the training of faithful and efficient pastors and teachers who should gather in groups of "three, six, or nine" for mutual instruction and edification.

The objections which Luther filed against the Reformatio must have carried considerable weight. On January 23, 1527, about a fortnight after the letter had been received, a religious discussion was conducted at Marburg pursuant to the order of the Landgrave. After this meeting the Church of Hesse returned to the fold of Saxony, to which it had proffered its earlier allegiance. (27) This tendency is manifested by the publication in the year 1527 of a Church Order, entitled "Christliche Ordnung wie es zu Marburg in Hessen mit Teuffen, Sacramentreichen und mit beten nach der Predigt gehalten wird," - with an introduction by Martin Luther. (28) Other developments

(26) "es ist fürwar gesetz machen ein gros, herlich, weitleuftig ding und on Gotts geist wird nichts gutts daraus." Ibid.

(27) Lambert had boasted that "Hessen werde hoffentlich nicht blos lutherisch bleiben." Rommel, Christopher, "Philipp des Grossmüthigen Landgraf von Hessen," III, Anmerkungen 28.

(28) Its contents were: (1) Die Tauff; (2) Das Vaterunser; (3) Der Christliche Glaube; (4) Die Zehn Gebotten; (5) Das Sacrament dess Altars. During the distribution of the elements of the Eucharist this question was asked, "Was glaubestu oder was bekennstu dass in diesem Sacrament sei? Antwort: under dem Brod und Wein ist allda der Leib und das Blut Christi. Es ist aber nicht genug dass ichs weiss sondern ich muss auch glauben das mir mein Herr

which indicated the Saxon influence upon the Hessian Church were the printing in 1528 at Marburg of Melanchthon's "Unter-richt wider die Lehre der Wiedertäufer;" the reprinting in Marburg of Luther's translation of the New Testament in the same year; the publication in Marburg during the following year (1529) of the "Sachsischen Visitationsordnung" with an introduction by Philip Melanchthon; and the reprinting of Luther's Catechism and its translation into Latin by Johann Lonicenius who was professor of Greek at Philipps-Universität. (29)

With the "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae, 1526" practically invalidated as the authoritative polity upon which the Hessian Church was to be reformed, one asks what significance can be attached to Lambert's earnest endeavours. Considering the experiences which the document of the Reformatio met with there is a tendency to underrate its influence. At an early date the manuscript of the Homberg Church Order disappeared from the Hessian Archives and it was not until 1660 that Johann Heinrich Hottinger, a Swiss theologian, learned that a copy was extant in Kassel. (30) It was probably this copy that was discovered in 1740 in the library of this city and which was printed

Christus diss zu einem gewissen Sigel, Zeichen und Testament geben hat." Leuchtero Henrico, "Antiqua Hessorum Fides, Christiana et Vera." pp. 17-18.

(29) Vilmar, A. F. C., "Geschichte des Confessionstandes evangelischen Kirche in Hessen, besonders Hessen-Cassel", pp. 17-20.

(30) "Extant acta ante haec Caselis ab amico communicata," "Historica ecclesiastica saeculi", Part III, XVI, p. 648.

eight years later in Friedrich Christoph Schminke's "Monimenta Hassaica". In this work the Reformatio appeared in print for the first time. (31)

Inasmuch as the Homberg Church Order remained unprinted for more than two centuries there is obviously an inclination to squabble over its importance. Julius Wagenmann maintained that the Reformatio was of no practical value because it was not introduced into the Hessian Churches or into those of any other land; it was not even formally and officially published. (32) On the other hand, Karl August Credner regarded it as one of the most venerable monuments of the early stages of the German Reformation. (33) Writing in favour of the Reformatio the noted church historian, Leopold von Ranke, declared that the historical importance of the ideas underlying Lambert's endeavours can not be measured. (34) An eminent Scottish scholar, James MacKinnon, expressed a reasoned view of the significance which can be attached to the Reformatio; he stated that "the scheme (of Lambert) was an anticipation on paper of what ultimately became the presbyterian system of church government". (35)

(31) Credner, op. cit., pp. I-II.

(32) Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, VIII, p. 373. See also Richter, Aemilius Ludwig, "Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenverfassung in Deutschland", p. 36.

(33) Philipp's des Grossmüthigen Hessische Kirchenreformationen Ordnung, p.I.

(34) Deutsche Geschichte in Zeitalter der Reformation, II, p. 307.

(35) Luther and the Reformation, III, p. 289.

Because of the circumstances that befell the document of the Homberg Church Order, it is difficult to trace a direct connection between it and the presbyterian polities that developed subsequently in the various countries. It is not amiss, however, to surmise that the theological beliefs that animated Lambert and his associates trickled through to the lands lying beyond the borders of Germany. The sixteenth century was the period of the travelling scholar. Erasmus wandered over Europe, Bucer came to England and John Colet, the noted humanist, journeyed to Italy to become acquainted with the New Learning. Even in its early days the University of Marburg had on its register the names of Scotsmen, - the Hamiltons, Patrick and John, and a Gilbert whom Lambert described as "my dear Gilbert, a Scot". (36) Among the other important Scottish Reformation leaders who visited springs of religious inspiration on the continent were Alexander Alane (or Alesius), John M'Alpine, George Buchanan, George Wishart and John Knox, the renowned Reformer. Of these Alane and M'Alpine did not return to Scotland, but they were not lost to the cause in their native land. The former gained distinction as the Rector of the University of Leipzig, while the latter was despatched to Denmark where he assisted with the first translation of the Bible into the Danish language.

- (36) Lambert's Letter to Martin Bucer, March 14, 1530, Herminjard, A. L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs," II, p. 243. Hessencamp, F. A., "Die Väter der reformirten kirche", IX, p. 59, informs that Gilbert lived with Lambert and that both died in the same year, 1530.

Additional contacts with the continent were made by means of trade and commerce. A. R. Macewen noted that "the connexion of Leith, Dundee, Abroath, Montrose and Aberdeen with the ports of the Low Countries and with Dantzic, became channels through which social, economic and religious ideas were transmitted".(37) From this observation it is evident that the methods employed for the circulation of the new religious beliefs were not always the printed page, but more frequently the associations of tradesmen, travellers, civil representatives and students. Through these agencies the fundamental ideas of the Reformation were spread, - ideas that supplied the seed-bed from which the polity of the Reformed Churches of the world developed.(38)

(37) "A History of the Church in Scotland", II, p. 7.

(38) Compare Ranke, Leopold von, Ibid.

3. Lambert at the University of Marburg.

The establishment of a school for higher learning in Hesse was no doubt suggested to the Landgrave by the example of Frederick the Wise, who had founded the University of Wittenberg in 1502. To the lectures of this institution many Hessian students were being attracted. Additional impetus came from Luther's "An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung", in which he urged the conversion of cloisters into schools for boys and girls; and also from Philip's father, William the Mediator, who had contemplated the opening of a school in Hesse for the purpose of furthering the scientific study of botany. The Landgrave's decision to provide instruction according to the Holy Scriptures was made shortly after his acceptance of the Reformation, -wont von seinem Kanzler Feige beraten. (1) The action of the Carmelites at Kassel, whereby they surrendered their property to the Hessian Government early in 1526, encouraged the Ruler with respect to the possible acquisition of buildings which could be utilised for educational purposes. The "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae" which was completed between October and December of 1526 provided the ecclesiastical authority to carry into effect the noble aspirations of the enterprising Philip. (2)

The first definite step which Philip took towards the opening of the university, that officially bears his name, was

(1) Hermelink, Heinrich, "Die Universität zu Marburg," p.5.

(2) Credner, Karl August, "Philipp's des Grossmüthigen Hessische Kirchenreformations-Ordnung," pp.43 and 104-105.

his letter to Luther and Melancthon at the beginning of September, 1526, in which he declared his intention of "ein Pädagog oder ein Schul von Manns-Pädagog oder Frauen personen zu gründen." (3) On the seventh day of the same month, Melancthon wrote Camerarius informing him that the Landgrave of Hesse planned to establish a school; he also urged the appointment of Eobanus Hessus to one of the professorial chairs at the new institution.(4) The most desirable location for the educational venture was Marburg because of its central location in the country of Hesse and the numerous cloister buildings which had been erected in that city. These offered the facilities necessary to house the project.

With the decision to locate the university in Marburg already made, the framers of the Reformatio were in a position to include a chapter headed, "De universali Studio Marpurgensi." According to this section it was prohibitive^{ed} to teach anything that might hinder the progress of the Kingdom of God. This was fundamental in view of the fact that God had illumined the heart of the Landgrave to further the cause of the Gospel by his determination to establish a school for higher education. The instruction in the university was to be offered by men who confessed the Sacred Scriptures, and whole-heartedly; and if they failed in this respect they were to be deposed. In addition to teaching the Bible, courses were to be presented on civil law by learned and pious teachers, so that the prevailing

(3) Hermelink, H., loc. cit.

(4) "Corpus Reformatorum," I, pp. 815-818, from Heremelink, Ibid.

unchristian conditions might be proscribed by the principles of God's Word. The third field of study which should be made available at Philipps-Universität was medicine, in which faculty there was to be at least one professor. The liberal arts, including mathematics, languages and literature, which were not contrary to the Word of God, were to be taught, but lectures on canon law were not to be delivered. Whosoever dared to launch any project of study which was against God's Holy Word, was to be anathematised. In these hard words the dogged insistence upon the centrality of the Holy Bible at the Marburg University was couched.

Although Philip had obtained authority by the provisions of the Reformatio to seize the monastic properties and convert them into educational institutions, he called a meeting at Marburg on January 23, 1527, to which we have already referred. At this conference the problems incident to the transfer of the cloister holdings were discussed. (5) Pursuant to these deliberations in which Lambert participated the Kūgelherrn of Löwenbach surrendered their buildings several weeks subsequent to the meeting. (6) Here the theological school found quarters. Following the noteworthy example of the Kūgelherrn, the Dominicans abandoned their cloister which was used by the Law School

- (5) Denhard, Bernhard, "Geschichte der Entwicklung des Christenthums in den Hessische Ländern," p. 176; see also Stieve, F. W., "Allegemeine deutsche Biographie," Volume XVII, p. 550. Henke, E.L. Th., in his "Neuere Kirchengeschichte," p. 98, states that there were fifty cloisters and more than one thousand monks and nuns in Kassel, Marburg and Butzbach.
- (6) The Kūgelherrn were monks who wore a headdress that resembled a cannon ball. They were members of the Brethren of Common Life. Their monastery is to-day occupied by the

and the School of Pedagogy. (7) When the Franciscans left their cells a seat of learning was made available for the Medical School. (8)

In the meantime the Landgrave and his advisers were devoting considerable attention to the appointment of professors for the various faculties. The following were called: for Jurisprudence, Johann Eisermann (also named Ferrarius Montanus) and Balthasar Klamerer; in Medicine, Euricus Cordus; for Poetry, Hermann Busch and Asclepius Barbatus; in Hebrew and Greek, Sebastian Nonzenius and Johann Lonicenius, respectively; for Rhetoric and Dialectics, Reinhard Loresius and Caspar Rudolphus respectively; in Pedagogy, Johann Delius; and in Theology, Adam Kraft and Francis Lambert of Avignon. (9)

The inclusion of the name of Lambert on the list of professors for the Collegium Lani, as the university was popularly called, was not without obstinate opposition on the part of the Wittenberg theologians. With the memory of the "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae" and its non-Lutheran tendencies still fresh in their minds objection to the Frenchman was registered through Heinrich Hesus, a native of Hesse, who was then a student at the Saxon institution. Writing on January 16, 1527,

Psychological Laboratory and the Historical and Political Economy Seminars. Their chapel is now the property of the Roman Catholic Church at Marburg.

(7) This is known to-day as Die Alte Universität; it houses the Theological Faculty.

(8) This building is now used for the University Gymnasium.

(9) Denhard, Bennard, op. cit. pp. 176-177.

just nine days subsequent to Luther's letter condemning the Homberg Church Order, Hesus addressed Balthasar von Schrautenbach, who was an adviser to the Landgrave. In this epistle the student referred to Lambert as a man certainly not wicked but ill-advised, inexperienced and of an inordinate ambition. (10) This unfavourable attitude against Lambert was maintained because of the spurious nature of several of his "Paradoxa" which the Wittenbergers regarded as contrary to scientific and classical learning. The Saxons feared that under the influence of Lambert, Philip might be persuaded to appoint professors who were lacking in character and deficient in erudition and industry; while for the same stipend he might have been able to secure the services of teachers like Hermann Busch (*qui recte de litteris sensiat*) and Eobanus Hesus and Euricius Cordus, who were natives of Hesse. Despite this emphatic warning against Lambert, he was called to a chair in theology through which appointment the Landgrave attested to the "supra-confessional and ecumenical character of this faculty." (11)

The original theological faculty was not permitted to remain intact because Adam Kraft was soon appointed to become one of the official visitors of the Hessian Churches. Although an assistant was provided in Erhard Schnepf, who was pastor at Weilburg, the burden of teaching evidently fell upon the

(10) *homo sane non malos, sed inconsultus, rerumque humanarum inexpertus, qui nimis suarum rerum amore adficiatur.* Hermelink, Heinrich, op. cit. p. 7.

(11) Ibid, p. 11.

shoulders of Francis Lambert. His first lectures covered the Apocalypse of St. John, which subject he began to study while he was apostolic-preacher for the Franciscan Order at Avignon. These explanations Lambert published in Marburg dedicating the work to Philip of Hesse. The Acts of the Apostles, upon which he had prepared a commentary at Strasbourg, were also interpreted for the students who had enrolled at the first regularly constituted Protestant university. While his presentations did not reveal an abstruseness of learning, they did manifest a practical character. (12) Lambert warned against undue emphasis in the use of Greek and Hebrew in theology. (13) He urged the introduction of the vernacular in sermons and in the ordinary communications of life. For him the simpler the sermon the more praiseworthy and profitable it became. By discarding the language of the learned for the language of the common man, Lambert sought to widen the appeal of the Gospel and to carry its precious message to the market-place, the cottage and the tavern. This does not connote, however, that he condemned the use of learning or the classic languages but rather the abuse of them. (14)

- (12) "Die Bibel sei nicht um der Philosophie, sondern diese um der Bibel willen da", is the position which Lambert expounded in his "De Prophetia, Eruditione Et Lingua Deque Litera et Spiritu." From "Real Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche," VIII, p. 375.
- (13) Tamentsi in ipsis linguis vis Dei sermones primum fueri revelati, non tamen proinde textus Hebraei aut Graeci, sermonum Dei fontes sunt. Lambert in "De Prophetia, Eruditione, Et. Lingua Deque Litera et Spiritu", p.193.
- (14) Nunquam damnavi eruditionem aut linguas, sed earum damnavi abusum. Damnavi tamen semper abusum et damno atque damnabo. Lambert's letter to Friderico Myconius, from Strieder, Frederick Wilhelm, "Hessische Gelehrten Geschichte," VII, p. 385.

In the practical presentations of Biblical exegesis in which Lambert found a keen delight, he emphasised the Kingdom of God. In his conception Gloria Dei, Regnum Dei et Foedus Dei were more important than Ecclesia Dei. This strong evangelical note he resounded particularly in his lectures on the Apocalypse in which he endeavoured to have his students perceive the necessity of correlating Christian profession and practice. This he hoped to accomplish by showing a vital relationship between the Kingdom of God and his own generation. For Lambert the heavenly realm was not only a future attainment but likewise a present possession.

Among the one hundred and five students and teachers who were connected with the University of Marburg during the opening year were two Scotsmen, John and Patrick Hamilton. (15) Of these two foreign students, the latter became renowned as the first martyr of the Scottish Reformation. He was born of a noble family in 1503 or 1504. On the paternal side he was the grandson of the first Lord Hamilton and son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel. His mother was a granddaughter of James the Second. When young Hamilton had reached the age of thirteen he was appointed lay-abbot of Ferne and used the rents thereof to maintain himself as a student in Paris where he graduated in 1520. After taking his degree Hamilton, having been influenced by Erasmus, went to the University of Louvain and in 1523 returned to Scotland to become a postgraduate student at the University of St. Andrews.

(15) Hermelink, Heinrich in "Die Universität zu Marburg", p.113 states that the Hamiltons were brothers.

For several years he manifested no antagonism to the established church although a spirit of questioning had appeared among the students. When, however, Parliament prohibited Lutheran literature, he seemed to have become more pronounced in his utterances; and in 1527 Archbishop James Beaton, who felt at last free to pay attention to the religious interests, summoned Hamilton to appear as one who had propounded false doctrines as well as the foreign opinions of Martin Luther. Upon the advice of friends Hamilton withdrew from Scotland and fled to the headquarters of the German Reformation. Finding the University of Wittenberg closed because of a virulent plague, he continued his wanderings to Marburg where he was numbered among the first students at Philipps-Universität. (16)

At the Hessian institution Hamilton came under the influence of Francis Lambert who spoke of the Scotsman as being twenty-three years old, educated, not vulgar, and in religious matters competent, well-grounded and of good understanding. The professor declared that his Scottish student's aim was to confirm himself more abundantly in the divine truth, and that he had scarcely met anyone who spoke more spiritually and more sincerely concerning the judgments of God. At the request of Lambert, Hamilton prepared a theological treatise consisting of a series of Latin Theses which are known as "Patrick's Places." (17)

(16) "Personen und Orts-register zu der Matrikel und den Annalen der Universität Marburg," 1527-1652, p. 74.

(17) "Exegeseos Francisci Lamberti Avenionensis in sanctam Divi Ioannis Apocalypsin Libri VII-In Academia

Near the close of the year 1527 Hamilton, enkindled afresh by the impulses of the German Reformation, returned to his native land. At first he was received courteously; he gave addresses to the students at St. Andrews University and even accepted an invitation from Archbishop Beaton. Hamilton was, however, bolder and more outspoken for the new religion than he had been upon his return from France. "He had come to St. Andrews," he declared, "to establish the pious in the true doctrine and, if he turned his back he would be a stumbling block in their path." (18) Despite the anxieties and warnings of his friends to desist from his courageous preachings, Hamilton persisted in the frank exposition of his beliefs. He was summoned by the Archbishop and charged on thirteen points of heretical teachings. The council that tried his case declared him guilty on all thirteen counts, and as a result he was burned at the stake on February 29, 1528. (19)

The significant question pertaining to the stay of Patrick Hamilton in Marburg concerns itself with the influence which Lambert wielded upon the first Scottish martyr. It is obvious that a transformation had been effected during his Marburg student days. Upon his return from the continent in 1523 he

Marpurgensis praelecti," p. 3. The extract referred to has been reprinted in Lorimer, Peter, "Patrick Hamilton, the First Preacher and Martyr of the Scottish Reformation," p. 240; and Laing, David, "A History of the Reformation by John Knox," I, p. 503.

- (18) Macewen, A. R. "A History of the Church of Scotland," I, p. 419.
- (19) On Hamilton see also Lorimer, Peter, "The Scottish Reformation," pp. 6-17; and Fleming, D. Hay, "The Reformation in Scotland," pp. 188-190.

was at first content to remain complacent and when he was summoned on suspicion that he was harbouring liberal religious views, he meekly followed the advice of his friends and left Scotland. When he came back in 1528 he was resolute and determined in the proclamation of his theological opinions. He had been so completely won for the evangelical cause that he became an irrevocable champion for the Reformation, longing to do in Scotland what the German Reformers were accomplishing on the continent.

Because Hamilton was not permitted to put into practice the religious principles which he imbibed at Marburg it is difficult to estimate the immediate tangible influence which Lambert exerted upon his Scottish student. While Lambert informs us that he and Hamilton often discussed theology, he gives no intimation concerning the specific items to which they devoted their theological conversations. Whether or not the system of church government, by whose provisions Lambert had aimed to reform the Hessian Church, was disclosed to Hamilton, can not be answered. "There is no evidence of any immediate influence of Hesse in constructive work by Hamilton or his immediate followers in the matter of setting up an organized reformed church in Scotland," writes Janet MacGregor. (20)

When one examines "Patrick's Places" it will be noticed that the author concerned himself largely with two themes; namely, the nature of the Law and Gospel; and justification by faith instead of by works. (21) Upon both of these subjects (20) "The Scottish Presbyterian Polity," p. 12.

(21) "Patrick's Places" are printed in Laing, op.cit. pp. 19-35; and also in "Acts and Monuments of John Foxe," IV, pp. 563-578.

Hamilton agreed with Lambert as well as with Luther. For Hamilton "the Law showeth us our sin; the Gospel showeth us the remedy for it." (22) Lambert wrote in his "Divi Lucae Evangelium Commentarii," "the Law is the word which teaches us what is permitted and prohibits what is illegal, while the Gospel is God's Word proclaiming grace, the remission of sins and true salvation through Christ." (23) Concerning justification by faith Hamilton stated, "We wot that a man is not justified by the deeds of the Law but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Jesus Christ that we may be justified by the faith of Christ and not by the deeds of the Law." (24) On this point Lambert likewise held that a man will not be justified by works but by faith. (25) "The doctrines which Hamilton treated in his "Places" were characterised by true and undiluted Lutheranism", writes A. R. Macwen. (26)

This opinion was expressed despite the fact that Hamilton was cautiously silent on the subject of the Lord's Supper which was then the centre of bitter religious controversy. In an effort to produce an agreement on this important theological doc-

(22) "Acts and Monuments of John Foxe," IV, p. 566.

(23) Lex est sermo, quo licita praecipiuntur et illicita prohibentur. Evangelium vero est sermo Dei gratiam, remissionem peccatorum et salutem veram per Christum annuncians, p. 57.

(24) "Acts and Monuments of John Foxe," p. 568.

(25) Non iustificabitur ex operibus omnis homo, sed ex fide. Lambert's "Farrago Omnium Fere Rerum Theologicarum," Chapter II. See also "Paradoxa," Chapter XXII, 1 and 2.

(26) op. cit. p. 423.

trine Philip of Hesse conceived the idea of calling representatives of the German and Swiss theologians to his castle at Marburg. After overcoming many difficulties the conference was held at the beginning of October, 1529. (27) The discussion revealed that the reformers agreed on the majority of the fundamental tenets of faith, but on the most delicate question, that of the Sacrament of the Altar, no harmonious statement could be found. The result of the conversations was the "Marburg Articles" that set forth the points of concord; the fifteenth article which pertained to the Holy Communion was left an undecided issue. While the negotiations did not attain the cherished goal, the delegates did not dissolve with heightened animosities as the official acts of the Marburg Colloquy well testify. "Although we have not been able at this time to reach an agreement as to whether or not the true body and blood of Christ are physically present in the bread and wine, nevertheless, each group shall extend to the other Christlike love, so far as conscience can permit, and pray earnestly to Almighty God that through His

- (27) Köhler, Walther, "Das Religionsgespräch zu Marburg, 1529" dates the Colloquy as October 2-4, pp. 32 and 39. Hermelink, Heinrich in "Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte" III, p. 131 places the dates as October 1-3, 1529. On the first of October there were private conversations; on the second and third day there were formal discussions, and on the fourth day (October 4th) the Marburg Articles were prepared.

Spirit He would confirm us in the true understanding. Amen."(28)

The discussions over the perplexing problem of the Holy Supper brought to Marburg figures who had exerted a profound influence upon Francis Lambert. Among the commissioners was Martin Luther at whose feet Lambert had sat while he was at Wittenberg; there, too, were Huldreich Zwingli, the leader of the Swiss delegation at whose hands Lambert took the definite step for the Reformation; and Martin Bucer and Jacob Sturm of Strasbourg with whom the Marburg professor had been associated during his sojourn there. Though Lambert was present for the conversations in which these reformers and their immediate assistants participated, he did not take part in the deliberations. (29)

For Lambert the Marburg Colloquy was significant because it brought to a consummation his own development on the doctrine of the Holy Communion. In his earliest writings, which offered an opportunity to express his opinions on this subject, he

- (28) Ob der war leib und blut Christi, leiblich Im Brot und wein sei, disser zeit nit vergleicht haben, So sal doch ein teill gegen dem andern Christliche liebe, so fer jedes gewissen immer leyden kan, erziehen, und bedeteil, got den almechtigen vleissig bidten, das er uns durch seinen gaist, den rechten verstandt bestettigen wolle. Amen.
 "Gutachten über das Marburger Religionsgespräch."
 See also Jacobs Henry E., The Book of Concord, II, p. 74.

- (29) Wagenmann, "Real Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche," VIII, p. 375. In the picture of the Marburg Colloquy which August Noack painted on the walls of the Aula of Philipps-Gymnasium at Marburg the artist has added his own conception of Lambert. It was taken from a picture which manifestly lacked character but which was supposedly that of Lambert. An authentic picture of Lambert is the only one that is missing of the early Marburg professors. See Dilichio, Wilhelmo, "Urbs et Academia Marpurgen-sis succinte descripta et typis efformata," p. 3.

subscribed to the Lutheran position. His interpretation of Luke 22: 19-20 in his commentary on this Gospel contains the statement, "in pane et vino Christus datur" (in the bread and wine Christ is given). (30) The second edition of the Lucan commentary which appeared in 1525 exhibits the lack of a definite doctrinal pronouncement; a change was evidently taking place under the guidance of the Strasbourg theologians. In his "Farrago Omnium Fere Rerum Theologicarum," published in the same year, he speaks of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ as the Lord ordained in John, chapter six. (31) This is somewhat confusing inasmuch as this statement of Lambert represents a combination of Lutheran and Zwinglian teachings.

The year 1526 is likewise a period of indecision and wavering on this important theological doctrine. The third edition of his commentary on the Gospel of Saint Luke which appeared in February of that year manifests a complete abandonment of the view which he held in the earlier works. In this later publication his exposition of Luke 22: 19-20 states "that it is not transubstantiation, as the Sophists urge, but the true bread and true wine remain; they are to the believers most certain signs of eating the body of Christ and drinking His blood." (32)

(30) Mirbt, Karl, "Franz Lambert," "Real Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche," XI, p. 222.

(31) Chapter X, p. 38-Christi carnem manducat ac sanguine bibit, sicut vult dominus, Ioa. 6.

(32) Ergo non est transubstantiatio, ut Sophistae volunt, sed verus panis verum vinum manent, quae fidelibus sunt, manducationis corporis Christi et notationis sanguinis

The "Paradoxa" which Lambert prepared at Kassel, Germany, for the Homberg Synod, are non-committal on the question of the presence of Christ in the sacramental elements. In chapter eight he maintains that the Lord's Supper is a memorial of the sacrifice of Christ rather than a repetition; it is a thanksgiving and a remembrance for all that Christ accomplished for us. (33) While the interpretation of the Sacrament of the Altar in these works is undoubtedly Zwinglian, in the "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae" there is a tendency to return to the Lutheran view. Here one finds the pronouncement that in the Eucharist Christ is present as God and man. (34)

The final and definite statement of Lambert's conception of the Sacrament of the Altar was made after the Marburg Colloquy. What circumstances conspired to produce his complete renunciation of the Lutheran interpretation, one can only conjecture. Luther's condemnation of the Reformatio and the emphatic admonitions of the Wittenbergers against the appointment of Lambert to the faculty of the University of Marburg can not be entirely disregarded in an analysis of the situation. On the other hand,

eius signa certissima. Lambert's "In Divi Lucae Evangelium Commentarij, Argentorati apud Johannem Hervagium Calendis Februariis Anno MDXXVI."

- (33) Schmitt, Wilhelm, "Die Homberger Synode und ihre Vorgeschichte, p. 58.
- (34) Confitemur in hac coena Christum Deum et hominem praesentem esse. Credner, Karl August, "Philipp's des Grossmüthigen Hessische Kirchenreformations-Ordnung," p. 6.

the memories of his sojourn in Strasbourg and his vital relations with Huldreich Zwingli in Zurich could not have been unimportant elements in bringing Lambert to the unalterable espousal of the Swiss view. Pursuant to his change of Communion beliefs he published in 1530 his "De Symbolo Foederis Nunquam rumpendi, quam Communionem vocant", in which he set forth his recently acquired position. He alleged that he wished to testify to the whole world that the "human substance of Christ is not in the Communion, nor even on earth but in heaven; therefore the words of the Communion formula must be figurative." (35) The body of Christ can not be mathematically, but only metaphysically present. For these reasons, he maintained, that he could no longer teach the opposite viewpoint which holds that Christ is really present in the Communion elements.

The work in which Lambert made his announcement concerning the swerve from the real presence to the symbolical conception of the Lord's Supper concluded his literary efforts. It was probably finished during the time when a deadly plague was ravaging the land of Hesse during the first half of the year, 1530. On the fourteenth of March Lambert wrote to Bucer that "among us practically everywhere in towns and country this sickness has afflicted people and many succumb. May the Lord be merciful to us." (36) The situation became so perilous that

(35) Christi human substance nec in coena, nec alibi in terra reipsa esse, verum in caelo: quod verba coenae figurata sint. See Lambert's "De Symbolo Foederis Nunquam Rumpendi quam Communionem vocant, confessio."

(36) Apud nos ferme ubique, in oppidis et pagis, haec contagio vires accipit, et multi tolluntur. Dominus misereatur nostri. Lambert to Martin Bucer, Herminjard, A. L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs," II, p. 244.

the University of Marburg was temporarily removed to Frankenberg on the River Eder where Lambert was also taken ill. Here he died on the eighteenth of April, 1530. (37) His remains were brought to Marburg for burial. (38) His widow and children followed him in death during the same year.

(37) Johannes Steuper, the pastor at Wiska, near Giessen, Germany, was summoned to the death-bed of Lambert. Hassencamp, F. W., "Franciscus Lambert von Avignon, Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der reformirten kirche", Band IX, p. 56.

(38) ad D. Michaelis Templum Marpurgi sepultus est. Tilemanni, Philipp Johann dicti Schenk, "Vitae professorum theologiae," p. 8.

4. His Theological Convictions

To understand the convictions which formed the fabric of Lambert's religious structure, one must appreciate the fact that the Holy Scriptures served as the foundation upon which his theological edifice was constructed. For him the Word of God consisted in whatever God Himself had revealed either internally or externally to the faithful through the means of the Holy Spirit. Internally the revelation of God was written upon the hearts of men, and externally it was announced either through the Scriptures or by word of mouth. (1) The Sacred Scriptures were in Lambert's opinion the infallible standard of faith and conduct for Christians in a manner identical to the place which the doctrine of the church occupied in the ecclesiastical group from which he had dissociated himself. Writing to the Friars Minor from Wittenberg in 1523 Lambert averred, "Our sole purpose in every instance is to attach ourselves to the Word of God only, rejecting the pitiable traditions and the foolish inventions of man." (2) Lambert was not, however, a Biblicist who allowed his emotions to carry him into extreme fanaticism, though he lacked the ability to appreciate the progressive character of the divine revelation as it is portrayed in the Holy Bible. A passage from the Bible, regardless of its canonical location, was for him the criterion for absolute authority.

- (1) Lambert's "De Sacro Coniugio," *Commentarius*, Position I, p. 1.
- (2) notre but unique à tous est de nous attacher à la seule parole de Dieu, en rejetant les pitoyables traditions et les inventions folles des hommes. Herminjard, A.L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs," I, p. 126.

Coupled with this tenacious reverence for the Holy Scriptures was a recognition of humanistic learning, which was limited to a knowledge of the classical languages-Hebrew and Greek. In every case these had to be subordinated to the revealed Word of God. (3) In the same manner he placed the Holy Bible above philosophical literature. Scholastic degrees and philosophy, he maintained, were powerless to supply an understanding of the heavenly doctrine; nor were they able to assist in the interpretation of this world. They were to be abhorred and detested more than any filthiness that falls from man.(4)

The superiority of the Christian revelation over the writings of "vain philosophers" is disclosed in his commentaries on the various canonical books. In his expositions on the Prophecy of Hosea, for example, he urged the necessity of exercising caution lest the wisdom of this world, the teachings of Plato and Aristotle, through the use of their ingenious devices, might seem to anticipate the knowledge of God obtained from the Scriptures. (5) In view of his bitter antagonism to the ancient philosophies, his toleration of the classical languages, and the

- (3) Lambert's "Commentarii de Prophetia, Eruditione, Et Linguis Deque Litera et Spiritu", Tract V, Chapter VI, p. 193.
- (4) Lesse, Nicolas, "The minde and judgement of maister Fr.L. of Avenna of the wyl of man."
- (5) Lambert's "In Primum duodecim Prophetarum, nempe Oseam, Commentarii," Chapter 14:9, p. 241; see also "In Johelem Prophetam, Commentarij", Chapter 3:6, pp. 49-50; and "De Regno, Civitate et Domo Dei ac Domini nostri Iesu Christi," p. 5.

conviction of the predominance of God's Word over both philosophy and languages, Lambert may be regarded as a humanistic Biblicist. In his opinion the object of all humanistic endeavours is to confess God and to behold His wonderful works so that all things inconsistent with the divine purposes may be abhorred like the poison of the viper. (6)

When one proceeds from this almost idolatrous respect for the letter of the Holy Bible to Lambert's conception of God, it is found that God performed His work of creation for His own glory and his elected saints. (7) God is the beginning and the end; from Him all things have emerged and He from no one; through Him are all things and He through no one; and in Him are all things and He in nothing (*ipse in nulla*). He is the true and most perfect One. He is the Lord Omnipotent Who is removed farthest from nothing and imperfection. (*summe a nihilo et defectibus elongatur*) Upon Him all things depend. No one is superior to Him, for He is truly the most sublime; neither is any one like or equal to Him. His superiority over all things is immense and illimitable. He is eternal and infinite. The wisdom and complete truth which He possesses do not originate in any other source because no one is able to excel Him in judgments. (8) This God, the Father, who is

(6) *Id tibi curandum est, ut omnium humanorum studiorum finis sit nosse Deum et videre, quam sit mirabilis in operibus suis, et quod, quicquid in eis reperis, quod ad id faciat, quasi venenum aspidum abomineris.* Lambert's "De Prophetia", etc. Chapter VIII.

(7) Lambert's "Commentarij de causis excaecationis multorum saeculorum ac veritate," etc., Chapter I. p. 7.

(8) "De Regno," etc. op. cit. pp. 14-15; also "De Arbitrio Hominis vere Captivo." p. 101.

righteous in all His ways, is infinitely bound up with the Son, which relationship Lambert describes as coexistential: the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father. (9)

Jesus Christ represents in the most sublime degree piety, mildness, mercy, wisdom, justice, deliverance, goodness, holiness, veracity, yea truth itself, because He is omnipotent. Observing and watching over all, He is the supreme Guardian and the most excellent Providence. He is most perfectly worthy of the divine name, for which reverence is expressed not by howling and wailing but by pure faith, courage and integrity. (10) He stands in the midst of the people of God, and He will never forsake those who believe in Him but He will remain in fellowship with them even to the end of the world. (11) The second person of the Godhead is also the Saviour Who died for the sins of the world and made mankind partakers of His death. He has overcome the world; He has bruised the head of the serpent and restored the image of God. (12) Christ alone is the preeminent pontiff and high priest of the Church of God. (Hebrews chapters five and nine.) He is full of grace and truth (John 1:14) (13).

(9) Est pater in filio et filius in patre. Lambert's "De Symbolo Foederis Nunquam rumpendi, quam Communionem vocant."

(10) "In Johelem Prophetam, Commentarij," Chapter 2:32, p.42.

(11) "De Regno," etc. op. cit. p. 79.

(12) "Commentarij de causis excaecationis," etc. op. cit. Chapter X, p. 72.

(13) Lambert's "Farrago Omnium Fere Rerum Theologicarum", Chapter V.

His work of redemption makes Him the all-sufficiency for believers; He is the King, Anointed One, Sun, Protector, Vine, Shepherd, Bridegroom and Beloved Who has taken unto Himself the Church as His Bride. (14)

It is significant that Lambert has failed to give any exposition of Joel 2:28-29 where the advent of the Holy Spirit is foretold. In Lambert's conception the Holy Spirit denotes the activity of God in the Scriptures; He also functions in the mind of man. The spirit of the Scriptures is the mind and will of God, who is desirous to reveal His attributes to man. The divine attainments can be discovered by inquiring into the sacred writings (*sub litera*), in which inquiry the Holy Spirit is an essential agent because of His knowledge of God. (15) In his treatise "*De Arbitrio Hominis vere Captivo*," Lambert ascribes the pious efforts of man to the sacred spirit from whom nothing iniquitous can proceed. (16)

Lambert's writings are also wanting with reference to a well-formulated development of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. In keeping with his obstinate aversion to any metaphysical inclinations this failure is readily understandable. He is content to remark that the Saviour taught abundantly concerning the mystery of the Trinity during that "very sacred and last meeting" when He instituted the Holy Communion. Lambert added that in many places throughout the Gospel of St. John the Sacred Trinity

(14) Lambert's "*Commentarij In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis*," p. 28.

(15) "*Commentarii de Prophetia*," etc. op. cit. p. 200.

(16) p. 113.

is explained in clear and diversified terms. His final reference to the three-fold Godhead is the quotation from I John 5:7, "For there are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one." (17)

Lambert's conception of the Church, provides an interesting phase of his theological equipment. For him the Church of God is the communion of all the saints (universitas) and the predestined who were chosen from the beginning of the world and who will persist unto the end. The characteristics of this community of God are unity in faith, spirit, grace, truth, justice, peace, baptism, and charity for all. (18) Consonant with the prevalent dualistic view of the church Lambert recognised the visible and the invisible aspects, basing his division on whether or not the believer had been elected and had received the true faith. Upon the basis of election Lambert accounted likewise for the double call in the church. The internal call was efficacious only for those who had been predestined; they alone could produce acceptable fruits as an indication of their genuine fidelity. Those who received only the external call had to be content with the invitation to be admitted into the fellowship of the church through the rite of baptism; they were permitted to hear the preaching of the Word of God, but it was impossible for them to do works that merited the divine approval. (19)

(17) "De Regno," etc. op. cit. p. 13.

(18) "Farrago Omnium Fere Rerum Theologicarum," Chapters II and III.

(19) Lambert's "De Fidelium Vocatione in Regnum Christi, id est, Ecclesiam," pp. 4-5

Besides recognising a two-fold aspect within the congregation there was in Lambert's opinion a sharp separation between the Kingdom of Christ, which was conterminous with the true Church, and the realm which he characterised usually as the Synagogue of Satan. This implied that the Church of God was constituted solely by the elect and that the Synagogue of Satan embraced the reprobate. The two groups were distinguished by the possession and the lack of the image of God. The faithful are never deprived of the heavenly likeness because Christ, who restored the divine images to His people, constantly sustained their souls. To be subject to the rule of the flesh and to live under its dominance was the hard destiny of those who worshiped in the House of Satan. (20) While the Kingdom of Christ was marked by salutary attributes, the realm of Satan was characterised by its peculiar traits: deceit, injustice, perversity, fallacies, obscurities, miseries and impieties. The Synagogue of Satan, moreover, was equal in size to the Kingdom of Christ. Although the ungodly generations flourish their joy will not be magnified accordingly, as Isaiah IX assures. (21)

In the Church of God two sacraments are administered, the Lord's Supper and Baptism. In the previous section Lambert's change of view from the Lutheran to Zwinglian conception of the Sacrament of the Altar was noted. With reference to the doctrine of baptism there was likewise a swerve from the teachings

(20) "De Causis excaecationis," etc. pp. 7-17.

(21) The term, Synagogue of Satan, has been taken from Revelation 2:9. On Satan's Kingdom see Lambert's "De Regno," etc. pp. 124, 130, 136.

of Luther. In one of his early works Lambert held that baptism was a "most certain sign of the remission of sins," operative even in old age. (22) It signified the death and burial of Christ. The coming forth from baptism (by immersion) symbolised Christ's resurrection. To the faithful this was a sign and a doctrine that He died for them, and in accordance with this divine example, believers should daily bear their burdens and crucify the old man; that is, the flesh, and turn to the new man, Christ. In a work which showed the Zwinglian influence upon Lambert, baptism was regarded as the rite through which the believer was admitted into the Church of God; it was also the occasion for his confession of faith in the death and resurrection of Christ. Inasmuch as children were capable of receiving the Christian faith they should be baptised. (23)

Baptism and the Lord's Supper were to be administered by pastors whom Lambert called bishops. In Lambert's conception of the ministry the principle of duality, which pervaded his theological thinking, played an important role. Accordingly, he recognised a double call to the office of the bishop: internally, it was given with indisputable certainty by Christ or the angels; externally, it was bestowed by man. (24)

(22) certissimum signum remissionis peccatorum, "De causis," etc. p. 83.

(23) Lambert's "Paradoxa", Chapter XIX, Schmitt, Wilhelm, "Die Homberger Synode und ihre Vorgeschichte," p. 84.

(24) "De Fidelium", etc. op. cit. p. 7.

Continuing his reasoning along dualistic lines, Lambert distinguished in the ministry the true bishop from the false prophet. It was the duty of the faithful bishop to lead his congregation in genuine worship which consisted not in approaching God through the vain imaginations of the heart but in adoring Him in spirit and in truth. (25) Apart from the sincere and conscientious administration of the Word and Sacraments, the devout bishops were to engage in earnest visitation, careful superintendence and general assistance to the believers in a manner that was acceptable to God. (26) "They are only doctors (teachers) and servants of God's people", Lambert wrote to the Bishop of Lausanne. (27)

Concerning the false prophets Lambert observed that they were accepted erroneously by the whole church because of their insincere profession of the sacred Gospel. Their prevailing shortcoming was the lack of an internal call from the Lord. Even though a bishop with only an external call had already entered upon the duties of his office, he had to be regarded as an unfaithful apostle and a hypocrite. (28) These humanly appointed ministers embraced three classes: first, were those

(25) "In Primum Duodecim Prophetarum, nempe Oseam, Commentarij", p. 169.

(26) Lambert's "In Minoritarum Regulam Commentarij," Chapter XV.

(27) Tantum sunt doctores et servi populorum Dei, Herminjard, A. L., Correspondance des Réformateurs, I, p. 331.

(28) "De Fidelium Vocatione," op. cit. p. 6.

ambitious bishops who were pastors in name only; they were possessed of the rapacity of wolves and the designs of the world. There were also the scholastics whom Lambert rated as the most notorious of the false prophets. In the third place, the Friars Minor were charged with gross perversity because their priors constantly impugned the Gospel of Christ by their spurious deeds and calumnies.(29)

One of the challenging tasks of the bishops who ministered in the various congregations was to bring the Gospel to the attention of man. Through sin which is the product of "that wyl whyche is bounde and captive by the spirite of fornication whyche is the sense and understanding of the selfe," man has become estranged from God. (30) The acts which emerge out of this estrangement are recorded by God, and on account of them He punishes the offenders. (31) By virtue of the merits of Christ, which He wrought in His propitiatory sacrifice on Calvary, God elects a certain portion of the human race to sainthood, making them the objects of His grace and forgiveness. The remainder is condemned to reprobation, and consequently it is never under the Grace of God. (32) Lambert also described

(29) "In Minoritarum Regulam," etc. op. cit. Chapter IX.

(30) Lesse, Nicolas, "The minde & judgement of maister Fr.L. of Avenna of the wyl of man," Part IV.

(31) "In Primum Duodecim Prophetarum, nempe Oseam," p. 162.

(32) "De Regno," etc. op. cit. Chapter VIII, p. 130.

the elect as those who had the spirit of Christ and were faithful, while the rejected had not this precious heritage without which no man could do anything that was good. (33) While the unregenerate man was enslaved by his own carnal flesh, which prevented him from "beholding the spirit of God," the elect were bound to God and Christ by faith. The faith which characterised the believer's attitude to Christ was not only the historical faith (*Fides historia sola*) but the faith whereby a man trusted in God (*fidimus*). It was this experience that bestowed the justification of God upon the individual soul. (34)

The most perplexing problem for Lambert in connection with the doctrine of man concerns itself with the human will. Is it bound or free? In this matter he aligned himself with the Wittenberg school. Like Luther, Lambert decided to take up his pen in opposition to Erasmus, the outstanding champion for those who contended for man's free will. Lambert's treatise on this subject, "*De Arbitrio Hominis vere Captivo*," is a digression which appears in his "*In Primum Duodecim Prophetarum nempe Oseam*." The work is based on Hosea 4:19, which he translated, "The Spirite hath bound him up in his wings, and they shall be ashamed because of their sacrifices." (35)

(33) Lesse, Nicolas, op. cit.

(34) Schmitt, Wilhelm, "Die Homberger Synode und ihre Vorgeschichte," p. 65; also Lambert's "*In Divi Lucae Evangelium Commentarij*," p. 57.

(35) Lesse, Nicolas, op. cit.

In explaining the passage it is maintained that this spirit is the reprobate mind and the understanding or knowledge of the flesh, which is the spirit of fornication.

The development of the thesis that the will is bound in sin and is free only in Christ covers four main propositions. In the first place, Lambert inquires into the question of what the will of man is. Declaring that the teaching of the free human will is not found in the Holy Scriptures, Lambert attributes this belief to the "high, proud and arrogant schools who, following the doctrine of Aristotle, regard the free will as owned by and annexed to understanding." This makes of man "a certain kingdom where the will is lord-president and chief ruler, and the understanding is the counsellor, and the will, like a prince, commands what is to be done or left undone." The second chapter is an attempt to prove that the will is captive and bound. Every man lives after his own fashion and mind. God alone is free in His understanding, knowledge and election. This thesis Lambert endeavours to substantiate by submitting thirteen proof texts from the Holy Bible. The last one is II Corinthians 3:5, "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God." In the third section of the treatise Lambert reaches the climax of his argument when he makes an effort to indicate "in what things the will of man is made free". Basing his argument on the text that "If the Son therefore shall make you free, you shall be free, indeed," (John 8:36) Lambert shows that Christ sets man free from all the outward things which

restrain him from submitting to the holy ordinances. The will having been made free from sin, the human being becomes the servant of God. The concluding portion of Lambert's work deals with the correct exposition of those passages from the Old and New Testaments "which do applie to permit and give libertye to the wyll of man." The treatise is ended by listing thirty-eight summarising propositions, which are submitted to convince the readers that "no man can say in the spirite of God that the wyll of man is free." (36)

To conclude this sketch of Lambert's theological convictions, we shall consider his conception of church and state. His opinion did not run into the extreme position according to which the church dominated the state as in the instance of the highly developed papal system; rather the rulers should constitute the strong arm that required obedience to the ecclesiastical ordinances. Pursuant to the example of Josiah (II Kings 22:2) it is the bounden duty of those who bear rule to do that which is right in the sight of the Lord by carrying into fulfilment what the leaders of the church decide. It is entirely legitimate for the state to repress the spread of heretical teachings within the confines of its realm. Acts of worship, such as the adoration of pictures and images, which do not conform to the tenets of the Holy Scriptures, should be eliminated. The state should assist the church in purging the land of these

(36) "In Primum Duodecim Prophetarum, nempe Oseam," pp. 98-136; also Lesse, Nicolas "The minde & judgement of maister Fr. L. of Avenna of the wyl of man." This is a translation which was published in 1548.

and similarly ~~perverted~~ practices. (37) In the same manner the ruler, acting according to the example of Constantine, may call synods, as Philip of Hesse did in 1526, for the purpose of reforming the churches which are located in his domain. At such assemblies those who exercise civil authority may participate. Especially is it incumbent upon those who bear rule to adopt precautionary measures lest they may become subverters of the cause of Christ by hindering the free circulation of the Word of God. Writing to Francis I, King of France, Lambert entreated His Majesty to permit an undisturbed course to the pure Word of God, so that the preachers might truly announce the Gospel. He urged the King to permit those books which proclaimed Jesus Christ to be published in the vernacular and to be sold openly throughout the entire realm. (38) The viewpoint of Lambert, therefore, was not one according to which the church dominated the rulers who became mere puppets to popes and curiae; it was rather that of patronage which was so illustriously exemplified by the magnanimity which Frederick the Wise extended toward Martin Luther.

(37) See "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae," Credner Karl, "Philipp's des Grossmüthigen Hessische Kirchenreformati-Ordnung" Chapter IX pp. 16 and 70; also Lambert's "Paradoxa", Chapter II.

(38) "In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis Commentarii", from Herminjard, A.L., "Correspondance des Réformateurs, I, p. 258. The same sentiment is expressed by Huldreich Zwingli in his letter to the King of France, March, 1525, Ibid, p. 351; and also by Guillaume Farel to Guillaume du Bellay, Ibid, III, p. 360.

When one surveys Lambert's theological convictions it is found that he reveals the various influences which played upon his religious development. As in the case of the "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae" three chief impulses were at work--Avignon, Strasbourg and Wittenberg. To Luther Lambert owed the doctrines of sin and grace, anthropology, good works, and the priesthood of believers. While Lambert was in Strasbourg he imbibed the teachings on the symbolical view of the sacraments; likewise he became acquainted with the doctrines of predestination and election which he obtained either from Martin Bucer, who was the leading reformer in this Alsatian city, or from William Farel, who was pastor of the French refugees in Strasbourg during Lambert's sojourn. (39) The strict discipline with which Lambert invested the church was derived directly from his Avignon experience. In the Franciscan tradition the student can discover the legalism which undergirded and suffused the entire structure of Lambert's theology. This same environment, it will be remembered, supplied the kernel of the "Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae" of 1526.

Lambert's emphasis upon legality accounts for the meager reference to the Fatherhood of God in his writings. It also explains why he disagreed so sharply with Wittenberg where Luther stressed the mercy rather than the sovereignty of God. Through his insistence upon the legalistic approach Lambert placed himself definitely on the side of the Swiss theologians

(39) Heyer, Henri, "Guillaume Farel, Essai sur Le Développement de ses Idées Théologiques," p. 52.

who levelled their attacks chiefly against the Roman liturgical perversions; whereas in Germany the line of opposition was concentrated upon the extreme despotism which had crept into the medieval ecclesiastical system.

Lambert can not be rated as a profound theologian. His main interest lay in Biblical exegesis. The theological conceptions which were required for this work were produced by fusing in the crucible of his own personality the opinions which he derived largely from Wittenberg, Strasbourg and Avignon. His previous experiences were not conducive to a career in which the study of theology was to receive paramount consideration. Educated along lines somewhat restricted he was not permitted to explore the pleasures of the ancient philosophies, and consequently he rebelled against them; but his appointment as apostolic-preacher afforded an opportunity for an intense study of the Holy Scriptures, in which he found a keen delight. It was this early acquaintance with and deep reverence for the Sacred Book that led him to persist in ascribing to the Holy Bible the chief place in faith and life. Because he combined with this ardent love for the Scriptures a certain appreciation for the Hebrew and Greek languages, we have classified Francis Lambert as a humanistic Biblicist.

V. Estimate of Lambert's Character and Work.

In an attempt to evaluate the character and work of Francis Lambert the historian can readily discern that the subject of his study was a disappointed man, as many of the sixteenth century Reformers must have been. Early in his monastic career he discovered that selfishness, jealousy and hatred prevailed beneath the external crust of piety that was exhibited by his fellow-friars. He realised, too, that rigorous spiritual exercises, even though they were conscientiously performed, were unable to subdue the promptings of the human instincts. What he saw, together with what he experienced in the Avignon cloister, disillusioned him; it gave him a feeling of despair and disappointment.

This reaction to monasticism not only supplied one of the potent reasons for forsaking the Franciscans, but it also tended to develop a sense of dissatisfaction. His wanderings were animated by a factor more decisive than the natural "wanderlust" or the inability to utilise the free time which had been placed at his disposal. These roamings must be interpreted, at least in part, as an earnest desire to locate the element that would fill the spiritual gap which had developed in him. He hoped to find this reassuring item in the recently rediscovered Gospel; and it is significant to observe that his sojourns in the various cities were comparatively brief until he reached Wittenberg where he associated with Luther and Melancthon.

It is not entirely wrong to connect Lambert's feeling of disappointment with the acrid pessimism that can be perceived

in his works. Writing in his "De Symbolo Foederis rumpendi Communionem vocant," Lambert described the age in which he lived in a most uncharitable manner. The people, he maintained, were not sons of God, but of the world. Given to the worst forms of immorality, the generation was guilty of defects which surpassed even greed and avarice. He found his age insatiable, censorious, forgetful of pledges, criminally inclined, not deferential to superiors, rudely disobedient to parents, intolerant, arrogant, haughty, excessively intemperate, crafty and notoriously deceitful. The people were foul-mouthed to the vilest degree, he said; they were neither honest, nor religious, seeking only what pertained to flesh and blood. His contemporaries were not resolute soldiers of Christ, but strangers to the Lord. Believing that they had here a permanent abiding place, the people of Lambert's generation were not in the least concerned about the future. Without a doubt the sixteenth century was given to all the personal sins and social disorders which Lambert enumerated, but it is also apparent that he lacked a sense of buoyancy and happiness.

In endeavouring to understand Lambert, it is necessary to take into consideration the rash and impulsive temperament that he possessed. This element found tangible expression in his failure to get on well with his various associates. The unpleasant scenes which were enacted in the cloister at Avignon can not be attributed solely to the jealousy which Lambert's successful preaching missions provoked; for there were doubtless other friars whose sermonic efforts were graciously

received. The recommendations which Jacob Sturm, the mayor of Strasbourg, gave to Philip of Hesse were not entirely devoid of ulterior motives. Nearly a year before Lambert left Strasbourg, Martin Bucer had suggested the advisability of appointing the former Franciscan as pastor of the French refugees. In this Herminjard (I p. 319) sees a gesture to get rid of Lambert because the "theologians of Strasbourg did not like the impetuosity and the conceit of Lambert." In Marburg he also lost the good-will of the German professors, one of whom, Hermann von Busch, mockingly remarked, "Er reist so viel hin und her ut manducet, mendicet et mentiatur (drei M)." Carl Mirbt, writing in the "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche" (XI, p. 223) suggests that Lambert's "French instability, busyness and loquacity provoked manifold opposition and evil rejoinders among the more quiet Germans." It is altogether possible that Lambert's angularities played a prominent part in his unsuccessful attempts to win a patron. At Wittenberg he was not able to ingratiate himself sufficiently with the benevolent Frederick the Wise to induce a patronage, although he had been invited to visit the Elector at Lochau. The magistrates of liberal-minded Strasbourg were unwilling to continue the stipend which they had allowed the Frenchman, adding that he should not print any further works until they had been examined and their publication authorised. This attitude is most significant when it is recalled that Lambert was experiencing embarrassing financial circumstances at that time.

True to the psychology that a person often vows to destroy

that from which he has dissociated himself, Lambert attacked the medieval ecclesiastical absolutism. As in the case of Luther the special objects of Lambert's vitriolic effusions were the papacy and the curia. Writing in his "In Minoritarum Regulam Commentarii," he referred to the pope as that purple-covered beast who, full of blasphemy, permits, under the very seat upon which he sits, his high officers to retain courtesans in a debauchery resembling Babylon." In his letter to Francis I (Herminjard I, p. 258) Lambert gave free rein to his polemics. "Long enough," he averred, "has illustrious France been seduced by the son of perdition---With his fanciful sayings, tithes, first fruits and oblations---he devours, eats up and consumes everything. Is it not an inexhaustible source of avarice and rapine? 'Bring, bring, bring' they cry incessantly and they never add, 'It is enough.'"

Lambert, however, was not satisfied with resisting the advances of the medieval church; he made sincere efforts, though unsuccessful, to reform the church along the theological lines laid down by the evangelical party. Whatever undesirable qualities may be discovered in Lambert's character, it stands to his credit that he possessed that determination, fearlessness and power of personality which, in varying degrees, characterised the majority of the sixteenth century reformers. Lambert had the courage to break away from and renounce the mechanical religious despotism to which he had earlier submitted; likewise, he possessed the mettle to attempt a reconstruction of the church upon a more evangelical basis. After

he had seen how the influence of the reforming party was leavening the religious consciousness of Switzerland, and when he perceived what the Wittenberg group was accomplishing for the suppression of the existing ecclesiastical absolutism in Germany, he resolved to devote his own energies to the improvement of the religious conditions of his native land. Upon leaving Wittenberg Lambert felt that he had been called to preach the Gospel to his countrymen in Metz. Frustrated in his efforts to evangelise this city, he made his desires known to Francis I, King of France, to whom he wrote that he wished to come to France to "proclaim the glory of the Saviour there," but he was powerless to do so on account of the conspiracy of the Anti-christ unless His Majesty would grant him full protection. (Herminjard I, pp. 259-260. August, 1524)

But the former Franciscan was not destined to become the reformer of the French Church. The political situation precluded any opportunity for the advancement of the evangelical program because the French Council in 1528-1529 reaffirmed most of the medieval positions in opposition to the teachings of the Protestants. Disappointed in his hopes to evangelise France, Lambert turned to Germany where he planned to reform the Church of Hesse. Thwarted in this direction by the Wittenberg group, Lambert became a theological professor at the University of Marburg. After lecturing for a few years at this institution he died, probably unhonoured and unsung. We can truly ask, Is there any just cause for having undertaken the study of Lambert's life and character? Did he leave any heritage which might warrant his remembrance?

There are two contributions of an invaluable character. His inspiring influence upon Patrick Hamilton whose passion for church reform Lambert undoubtedly fanned into a white heat, makes every Scottish Protestant a debtor to his life and work. Speaking figuratively, it was Francis Lambert of Avignon who lit the fire that burned the first Scottish martyr of the Reformation; and since "the reek of Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon," Francis Lambert has touched the religious consciousness of an innumerable company of Scottish Christians.

His second contribution is lodged in the particular type of church government which Lambert set forth in the "*Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae*" of 1526. It may have been too idealistic for the generation it intended to serve, for the age was frightfully deficient in the rudiments of ordinary education; likewise, it may have been too democratic for countries like Hesse and Saxony whose rulers wielded powerful influences in directing and controlling the various stages of the Reformation process. For these reasons, the Homberg Church Order was relegated to a neglected corner in the library at Kassel. Consequently, Lambert's project could not be actualised until the Reformation was introduced into lands where the evangelical cause was taken up as a popular movement and where it perforce acquired a more democratic character. Because the "*Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae*" was a child born before its time, the dream of Francis Lambert of Avignon was not realised until the Reformed Churches were established in Switzerland, France, Holland, Scotland and America.

Appendix - List of Lambert's Writings.

The writings of Francis Lambert divide themselves into two main classes, - exegetical and controversial. The former denotes his favourite field of endeavour, and his efforts in this direction cover explanations of a large number of Biblical books. In addition to his published exegetical works, he left at the time of his death a series of commentaries in various stages of preparation; these manuscripts include expositions on Romans, First and Second Corinthians, Genesis, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Lamentations and Daniel.

The style which he employed is not that of a great scholar; it reveals the rather limited educational privileges that were offered to him. His writings appear as if they had been hastily composed, and occasionally they show a lack of continuity. At times his explanations approach superficiality; now and then he becomes mean and trivial. In the burning desire to drive his arguments to the point he introduced frequently a bluntness shocking to literary sensitivities.

His treatment of the parables of the Pharisee and the Publican and the Ten Virgins in the commentary of St. Luke indicates the method that Lambert pursued. In both instances there is a detailed explanation which is followed by a list of practical observations. For example, the exposition of the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican is concluded with the admonition to preserve the true faith. This is to be accomplished by avoiding entanglements between the doctrines of faith and works so as to prevent the possibility of trusting in works. (*in operum fiduciam*).

In his exegetical endeavours Lambert frequently resorted to allegory. Interpreting Joel 2:10 and 3:15 he claimed that the sun refers to Christ, the moon stands for the church and the stars of heaven are physical symbols of the true prophets and evangelists (pp. 33 and 35). From the commentary on Zechariah we cull the statement that the very haughty and furious horns of the nations are all synagogues of Antichrist; they exercise tyranny not only by the force of their personalities but also by their wicked conduct of which the Pharisees, the sacrificing priests, the false prophets and their ministers are specially guilty. (p.72). The interpretation of the Prophecy of Jonah is an attempt to allegorise the entire course of historical events. In the second section of this exposition Lambert reached the high point in his allegorical flights when he showed that Christ is the true Jonah.

Lambert's explanations of the Holy Scriptures are strongly tinged with polemics. In this field he dealt with themes like the Rule of the Friars Minor; reasons for abandoning the monastic order; holy matrimony; prophecy, erudition, the letter and the spirit; the Kingdom, state and home of God; and the impotence of the human will. The vitriolic effusions which he used in the development of these subjects were in keeping with the standard of his generation. Like Luther, Lambert seemed to concentrate upon the pope at Rome as the object of his caustic assaults. In the "Evangelici in Minoritarum Regulam Commentarii", he listed ninety-four sects of which the Roman papacy occupied the first place. "O that the monstrosities of Satan would

disappear", wrote Lambert, "for through them the unity of the sacred church is most dangerously divided". Chapter two of this same work reveals a most burning vilification of the Roman pontiff; here Lambert berates the Holy Father as the purple-covered beast who has surrounded himself with a court of concubines.

While Lambert may be accused of the literary sins of his time, nevertheless, there are present in his writings simplicity, clarity and vigour which are highly commendable. The purpose of his expositions was not the presentation of a learned study but rather a practical explanation of the truths of the Bible. For Lambert simplicity connoted praiseworthiness and usefulness. While he deprecated non-theological learning, particularly philosophy, and the attempts to subordinate the Scriptures to the classical languages, his greatest annoyance was caused by transgressions of moral living. Envy, calumny, lies and slander pained him. To be effective in the furtherance of the word of God and in the service of the church was to Lambert an objective worthy of the noblest attainments. Finding practical expressions for these lofty aims he applied his energies to the destruction of medieval ecclesiasticism and to the determination to supplant it by the Holy Bible as the absolute authority for faith and order.

The list of the works of Francis Lambert follows.

1. *Theologi rationes propter quas Minoritarum conversationem habitumque rejecit*. This was first published at Wittenberg in 1523; a second edition appeared in Strasbourg, 1524.

2. *Evangelici in Minoritarum Regulam Commentarii* quibus palam sit quid jam de illa quam de aliis Monachorum Regulis et constitutionibus sentiendum sit. This work which contains an introduction by Martin Luther was published at Wittenberg in 1523 and later at Strasbourg in 1525. It has been translated into French and German.

3. *In Primum Duodecim Prophetarum nempe Oseam, Commentarii.* Eiusdem libellus *De Arbitrio hominis, vere captivo, sub quartum caput.* This was completed in 1523 and printed at Strasbourg by John Herwagen in 1525. It was dedicated to Frederick the Wise of Saxony. The *De Arbitrio hominis vere captivo* has been translated into English by Nicolas Lesse under the title, "The minde and judgement of maister Fr. L. of Avenna of the wyl of man de-claynge howe, 1548."

4. *In Lucae Evangelium Commentarii.* In this book Lambert edits the lectures on the Third Gospel which he delivered at Wittenberg in 1523. It was first printed at Nürnberg in 1524, then at Strasbourg 1525 and 1526, and also at Frankfurt on the Main, 1693.

5. *In Cantica Canticarum Salomonis, libellum quidem sensibus altissimum, in quo sublimia sacri Conjugii Mysteria, quae in Christo et Ecclesia sunt, pertractantur, commentarii, Wittebergae praelecti.* This work which is dedicated to Francis I, King of France, covers the expositions which Lambert offered on the Song of Songs at Wittenberg shortly after his marriage. In August, 1524, it was published by John Herwagen of Strasbourg. It was also printed at Nürnberg by John Peterius in 1525.

6. *Commentarii de Sacro Conjugio adversus pollutissimum perditionis coelibatum.* It was published in Strasbourg March, 1524 and in Nürnberg the following year. Lambert inserted a long letter to the French King and his "Psalm VII sive Cantica" in which he expressed gratitude for his deliverance from monasticism.

7. *Commentarii de causis excaecationis multorum saeculorum ac veritate denuo et novissime Dei misericordia revelata deque imagine Dei aliisque nonnullis insignissimis locis quorum intelligentia ad cognitionem veritatis perplexis in piis mentibus non parum luminis adferet.* This work was printed at Strasbourg in 1524 and a second edition appeared at Nürnberg in 1525.

8. *Farrago omnium fere rerum theologicarum, quartum catalogum sequenti pagella reperies.* This treatise was dedicated to Sebastian of Montfaucon, Bishop of Lausanne; it was published by John Herwagen at Strasbourg in 1525. It has been translated into English by Tristram Revel (1536) under the title, "The summe of christianitie gathered out almost of al places of scripture by that noble and famous clerk Francis Lambert of Avynion."

9. In Johalem Prophetam qui e duodecim secundus est, Commentarii. This commentary which was written in the first half of 1525 contains a letter to Sigmund von Hohenlohe, the Dean of the Cathedral, Strasbourg.

10. De Fidelium Vocatione in Regnum Christi, id est, in Ecclesiam. De Vocatione ad ministeria eius, maxime ad Episcopatum. Item de Vocatione Matthiae per sortem ac similibus. The work appeared during the first part of 1525; it contains a letter to the Duke of Lorraine. There is also a German translation which was completed in 1526.

11. In Amos, Abdiam et Jonam Prophetas Commentarii. The work with a letter to Anthony, Duke of Lorraine, was first printed at Strasbourg (June, 1525) and in Nürnberg in the same year.

12. Commentarii in Micheam, Naum et Abacuc. A letter to the City Council of Besancon dated August 15, 1525 has been inserted in this work which was printed by John Herwagen, Strasbourg, 1525.

13. Commentarii in quattuor ultimos Prophetas nempe Sophoniam, Aggeum, Zachariam et Malachiam. The preface is addressed to the magistrates of Strasbourg. The commentary was published by the Strasbourg printer, John Herwagen in 1526. The commentaries on the Minor Prophets were published in three volumes in Frankfurt on the Main in 1579 and republished in 1605.

14. Commentarii de Prophetia, Eruditione et Linguis deque Litera et Spiritu; 15. Eiusdem Libellus de Differentia stimuli carnis Satanae nuncii et Ustionis. Both of these writings were published in one volume by John Herwagen, Strasbourg in March, 1526 with a dedicatory letter to Nicolas Kniebs, Consul of Strasbourg. Later editions appeared at Quedlinburg, 1668 and Helmstedt, 1678.

16. Commentarius in IV libros Regnum et Acta Apostolorum. This was printed at Strasbourg, 1526 and at Frankfurt on the Main, 1539.

17. Quae Fran. Lambertus Avenionensis apud Sanctam Hessorum Synodum Hombergi congregatam pro Ecclesiarum Reformatione e Dei Verbo disputanda et deservienda proposuit. This work is commonly known as the Paradoxa. It has been printed in various places, the most recent of which is Wilhelm Schmitt's Die Homberger Synode und ihre Vorgeschichte, 1926, pp. 52-67.

18. Epistola ad Colonienses de ipsa venerabili Synodo adversus Nicolaum Herborn minoritam, assertorem et consarcinatorem mendaciorum. This has been edited by Georgii Clem. Draudii and printed at Giessen, 1730.

19. *Exegeseos in sanctam Divi Joannis Apocalypsin, Libri VII.* In Academia Marpurgensis praelecti. With a dedication to Philip of Hesse, the commentary was printed at Marburg, September, 1528, and at Basel in 1539.

20. *De Regno, Civitate et Domo Dei ac Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Libri tres, ex vetustissimis creaturae ac scripturae libris. Collecti et per Gerardum Geldenhaurium Noviomagum recogniti in ordinemque digesti.* This post-mortem work was published at Worms in 1538.

21. *Confessio, De Symbolo foederis nunquam rumpendi quam Communionem vocant, Francisci Lamberti Avenionensis.* This sets forth his reasons for forsaking the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper in favour of the Zwinglian teaching. It was printed in Strasbourg by John Herwagen in 1530. The treatise has been translated into German under the title, "Ein gar schöner Send-brief D. Francisci Lamberti von Avignon sáligen geschrieben nach gehaltenem Gespräch zu Marburg im MDXXIX jar."

22. *La Farce des Théologastres.* This has been printed in Baum, J.W., "Franz Lambert von Avignon", pp. 185 ff..

23. *Le Martyre de Jehan Chastellain.* This has been printed in the *Chroniques de la ville de Metz*, pp. 808-811.

In addition to these works Herminjard in his *Correspondance des Réformateurs* has collected seventeen letters which were written by Francis Lambert. O. Clemen has edited two of Lambert's letters. They appear in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Band XXII.

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(Francisco Lamb.
Gallo Theologo
autore)

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Commentarii, quibus palam sit,
quid jam de illa quam de alijs
Monachorum Regulis & constitu-
tionibus sentiendum sit. 1523.
Apud Johan Hervagium, Argentorati
(Strasbourg) May, 1525.

Lamberti Francisci
Avenionensis

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Eiusdem libellus De Arbitrio homi-
nis vere captivo, sub quartum caput
(pp. 98-136). Published Argentorati,
apud Johan Hervagium, 1525. The
De Arbitrio hominis vere captivo
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Nicolas Lesse under the title, The
minde & judgement of maister, Fr. L.
of Avenna of the wyl of man declar-
ynge howe, John Day and William
Deres, London, 1548.

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Mysteria quae in Christo et Eccle-
sia sunt pertractantur, Commentarii,
Wittebergae praelecti, Argent.
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adversus pollutissimum perditionis
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nonnullis insignissimis locis
quorum intelligentia ad cognitionem
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